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Story of Confrontation at Votkinsk 'A Fabrication'

PM1703203190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[N. Burbyga report: "'Votkinsk Missile Crisis'—the American Version"]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA's own correspondent V. Nadein reorts from Washington, the incident between Soviet and American officers alleged to have occurred at the missile plant in Votkinsk has been under discussion there for several days now. It arose after American officers tried to use X-ray devices to verify the plant's output. In an attempt to prevent them doing this, Soviet officers were forced to resort to the aid of pistols....

"The White House initially sought to play down the events in Votkinsk on the grounds that Gorbachev was engaged in establishing presidential rule and might simply be ignorant of what had happened"—a WASHINGTON POST correspondent reports....

Our correspondent asked V. Shchukin, deputy minister of the defense industry, to comment on these events:

[Shchukin] This is the first time that I have heard of pistols and confrontation in Votkinsk. I am convinced that this is a fabrication and has nothing to do with reality.

[Burbyga] Valentin Aleksandrovich, what then, in your view, could have given rise to such talk?

[Shchukin] It is difficult to give a simple answer. I do know one thing: There was no use of force at all in Votkinsk. As far as the X-ray device is concerned, there was indeed discussion of it with American specialists. The point is that the device makes it possible to verify the dimensions of the missiles being produced at the plant. This device was started up, but it was then discovered that it failed to meet three parameters stipulated by the Soviet and American sides.

On 11 March a group of American experts arrived at the plant. After studying the question, they agreed that the parameters adduced by us are not in accord with the memorandum of the treaty and that they need to be refined. The group of experts has already left for Moscow in order to report back to Washington on the results of the inspection [proverka] via the embassy.

[Burbyga] And yet this press commotion came from somewhere.

[Shchukin] It arose either out of ignorance or for some other reasons. But I repeat to you once again: All the products are brought out from that plant in accordance with the treaty. There have been no breaches on our part. Moreover, the barrier, the traffic signals, and the whole control panel are entirely at the Americans' disposal. So that all the products brought out are fully verified.

U.S. Right-Wingers Exaggerate

LD1703133490 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Washington March 17 TASS—U.S. State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler refuted a report on Friday that a "serious" incident recently took place between U.S. inspectors monitoring the observance of the INF treaty and the Soviet personnel at the Votkinsk factory.

The report said that the sides even had to use pistols.

As far as pistols are concerned, Tutwiler told a briefing at the State Department, the report holds no water. There has never been a threat of violence in discussions between American inspectors and the Soviet personnel, she added.

The report about the incident penned by two conservative American analysts Rowland Evans and Robert Novak was carried by THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper on Friday.

It alleged that Soviet guards threatened unarmed American inspectors with pistols on Sunday evening during a clash at a missile factory in Votkinsk.

The American side intended to use new X-ray scanning system known as "Cargoscan" to inspect containers with missiles being hauled from the factory. Evans and Novak alleged that things came to a head and the United States is preparing to accuse the USSR of violating the treaty provisions.

"The incident" was blown out of proportion by U.S. right-wing circles to sow doubts about the reached understanding and to try [to] undermine new imminent important understandings between the United States and the USSR on limitation of nuclear and conventional weapons.

Both Tutwiler and White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater intimated in their statements on March 15 that the matter in question is not a violation of the treaty but interpretation of its provisions, including the use of new verification systems and problems which are solvable and which are being settled by the two sides without any incidents.

Tutwiler said that, in the opinion of the American side, the Cargoscan system accords with the criteria recorded in a memorandum of understanding.

At the same time, she continued, that the Soviets claim that tests conducted early this year showed that the Cargoscan equipment did not accord with the memorandum's requirements.

She noted that the United States sent to the factory a group of experts who would demonstrate that the system operates in compliance with the memorandum's requirements. The Soviet Union also dispatched an expert group to the factory.

Tutwiler noted that Eduard Shevardnadze told James Baker about the USSR's agreement to receive the U.S. expert group and to settle this problem as soon as possible.

Analyst Calls for Speeding up Vienna Arms Talks

LD1603145590 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 16 Mar 90

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—I believe much will be decided at the sixth round of the Vienna talks, which will determine the likelihood of concluding the first treaty on the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe by this autumn. The pace of the negotiations must be accelerated substantially at the current stage, otherwise we will not have enough time to achieve this year the goals set by the top leaderships of the states taking part in the talks.

I believe it is high time to complete the talks on tanks, to determine limitations on all the principal types of armoured cars, with due account for the existing Parks' structures in the Warsaw Treaty Organisations and NATO, to settle the question of limitations on artillery and to reach agreement on combat helicopters.

The positions on reduction of aircraft must also be approximated. The Warsaw Treaty nations have done everything to determine the levels for tactical aviation. They moved to fix the ceiling at 4,700 aircraft, including medium bombers (two sub-ceilings are also envisaged—1,500 anti-aircraft defence fighters and 1,500-1,600 training planes). The West must now make its contribution to the further rapprochement of the positions. Otherwise, aviation will become a stumbling block to the achievement of an agreement this year.

A special place at the talks belongs to the problem of cutting military personnel. An agreement on the reduction of Soviet and American military personnel deployed in Europe, as envisaged in the Ottawa agreement between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker is now completely feasible. NATO must also carefully analyse the possibility of accepting the proposal to limit the number of Warsaw Treaty and NATO military personnel in central Europe to 700-750 thousand men for each side.

As I remember from my own experience of participation in talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, Western representatives have pushed to the fore for almost fifteen years the question of reducing and "levelling out" the number of NATO and Warsaw Treaty personnel in this region, saying that servicemen play the principal role in "occupying and holding territory." Why do the NATO countries now bluntly reject a similar proposal by the Warsaw Treaty?

It remains to be hoped that the sides will do everything at the current sixth round of the talks to settle the remaining unresolved problems. This will allow the sides to draft the first treaty and sign it this year.

Vienna Talks To Aim for Treaty This Year

PM1603185390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 12

[Interview with O.A. Grinevskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna CFE talks and ambassador for special assignments, by IZVESTIYA correspondent in Vienna S. Tosunyan; date of interview not stated; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Vienna Dialogue Continues"]

[Text] The European Continent is living through a stormy time. Its military and political landscape is undergoing major changes. How are these changes affecting the progress of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe? Are the talks not lagging behind the rapid political events? After all, a year has already passed since the talks began. The latest round of talks, the sixth, started 15 March. Just before they started, S. Tosunyan, IZVESTIYA correspondent in Vienna, asked O.A. Grinevskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation and ambassador for special assignments, to comment on the situation. This is what he said:

It is not just a question of speeding up the rhythm of the talks to the maximum degree. It is equally important to seek and find adequate political solutions to the central problems. An example of this is Ottawa, where it proved possible to find a radical solution to the problem of Soviet and American troops stationed outside their national territories in Europe.

The subject of reducing the numbers of both alliances' armed forces and weapons in central Europe is now generally the most complex and topical. Here the question inevitably arises of placing the military and political status of a unified Germany—on which an agreement still has to be reached at the "two plus four" talks—including, of course, questions concerning the size of their armed forces, within the context of the talks being held in Vienna.

We have to think about what must be done to ensure that the talks proceed more dynamically in all directions.

On the basis of the Ottawa agreement, possibilities now exist for starting the formulation of a treaty on the agreed position on reducing the numbers of Soviet and American troops stationed outside their national territory in Europe. We are prepared to become involved in coordinating relevant provisions in the agreement together with our partners.

In this connection, we have a concrete question for our Western colleagues. The West's proposals of 8 February speak of the withdrawal and demobilization of Soviet and American forces personnel as one of the elements in the upcoming agreement. However, the practical side of this matter is still not fully clear. Particularly as regards verification. After all, as we understand it, according to the existing provisions the demobilization of American units can only be carried out on U.S. territory. So how can it be verified?

Not long before the round of talks that is beginning, the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks gave a report at a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees in charge of questions of foreign and defense policy. As a result of the report, the delegation received the order to pursue firmly the line of completing work on the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe before the end of the year, while strictly observing the USSR's security interests.

Grinevskiy Cited on Conventional Forces Talks

LD1603210790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] The talks on conventional armed forces in Europe have resumed in Vienna. Ambassador Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation, said earlier in an interview with our correspondent:

[Begin Grinevskiy recording] We all should look with attention at what specifically can be done for providing more dynamic progress along all the lines of the process of talks. Here is just one example. There are all the possibilities now to start drafting a treaty, on the basis of the Ottawa accord, with regard to the agreed position on reducing the numerical strength of Soviet and U.S. troops stationed beyond their national territories in Europe. We are prepared to get down to harmonizing the relevant provisions of the treaty together with our partners. Apparently, this will be one of the possible concrete results of the session.

Just over a week ago the Soviet delegation to the Vienna talks made a report-back at a joint session of the two key committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet in charge of the issues of foreign and defense policy. In relation to the results of our report-back, the delegation was requested to adhere firmly to the course toward completing work on a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe before the year ends in such a way as, on one hand, to ensure a real decrease of the level of military confrontation in Europe and, on the other hand, to observe strictly the interests of the Soviet Union's security. Guided by these principles, we are prepared for broad and constructive progress in all the problems, together with our partners, of course. [end recording]

Soviet Military Inspectors Arrive in Norway

LD1403145390 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—In keeping with the Stockholm Conference document on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe, the Soviet Government has asked the Norwegian Government to allow it to inspect military activities on Norwegian territory.

The answer was positive. A team of Soviet military inspectors arrived in Norway today and started inspection work.

Exercises To End 16 Mar

LD1403230190 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Oslo March 14 TASS—Soviet military inspectors arrived here today to watch NATO's "Cold Winter" military exercises near Tromso, in accordance with a provision of the final document adopted at the Stockholm conference on confidence-and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

The inspectors flew to Tromso on a Soviet military plane later in the day.

The exercises involve Norwegian armed forces, British, Dutch and U.S. marines, naval ships and other military hardware and are designed to drill the lifting and landing of troops on the Norwegian coast, as well as naval and aviation combat operations. Soviet inspectors will observe the exercises until March 16.

Shevardnadze Attends Prague Pact Meeting

Germanys, European Frontiers

LD1703182890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1511 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague, 17 Mar (TASS)—By mutual accord, a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states was held in Prague on Saturday. Taking part in the meeting were: Boyko Dimitrov, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Gyula Horn, foreign minister of the Republic of Hungary; Oskar Fischer, foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic; Krzysztof Skubiszewski, foreign minister of the Republic of Poland; Sergiu Celac, foreign minister of Romania; Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister; and Jiri Dienstbier, foreign minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The ministers were received by Vaclav Havel, president of the CSSR.

The ministers exchanged views on issues connected with the building of German unity and with future structures of European security.

There was discussion of foreign aspects of the process of reunifying the two German states in line with the pan-European process and with international juridical guarantees of existing European frontiers, and of military-political questions.

The meeting took place in a businesslike, frank, and constructive atmospohere.

European Security Issue

LD1703235890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; presented by Anna Shatilova]

[Text] [Shatilova] A consultative meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member countries took place in Prague today. It was attended by USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze.

[Correspondent A. Samylin] Before the meeting started, the delegations from the seven countries were received at Prague Castle by the president of Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel. The conversation was informal and, to a certain extent, set the tone for the following talks. The meeting itself was held here, in the former party Hotel Praha. The main items on the agenda were matters connected with the unification of the two German states and also the future of the two military-political blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The importance of the meeting is obvious. Without a constructive approach, it is difficult to count on the creation of a new system of all-European security.

At the foreign ministers' meeting, it was noted that the development of the situation in Europe opens up good opportunities for stepping up political cooperation. This is what must clarify the German question, as well. The future military-political status of a united Germany must fit in with the new all-European structures of security.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] There was one principal result. We all spoke in favor of the synchronization of processes, the two most important processes—the building of European security, the organization of the security of all-European structures, and the moving together of the two German states. That was the main theme, so to speak, of all the speeches. My colleagues outlined their views on how this synchronization should be accomplished and what paths, methods, and means should be employed. These proposals need to be studied in depth and general conclusions drawn. I think that we will find a great many rational and interesting ideas which can be borne in mind when resolving these complex questions and problems. [end recording]

[Shatilova] Later today Comrade Shevardnadze left Prague for Moscow.

Termed 'Useful, Necessary'

LD1703171990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague, 17 Mar (TASS)—In an interview with the Soviet television program "Vremya," Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR foreign minister, said that the meeting in Prague of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states was very useful and necessary.

This was a consultative meeting, he said. The exchange of views between the foreign ministers was interesting and meaningful. Various views and proposals were expressed, which unquestionably deserve serious attention. They will require deep study. There were questions on which there was complete unanimity. On individual problems views differed. I consider this to be completely normal, the minister noted.

There was one principal outcome: We all spoke in favor of synchronizing two most important processes—the building of European security, organizing security of all-European structures, and the moving together of the two German states. Ways of accomplishing this synchronization and the paths leading to it were discussed at the meeting. The proposals which were voiced require deep study and interesting ideas which can be borne in mind when these complex questions are decided.

Answering a question from other journalists, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that the meeting gave grounds for optimism. This optimism is based on the good mutual understanding among the participants of the meeting. We came to a joint conclusion on the need to improve the Warsaw Pact and we hope that similar processes will take place in the West—I have in mind NATO, first and foremost. We are talking about a gradual, stage-by-stage transformation of military- political alliances into political-military ones. In other words, the military elements will move into the background. My ministerial colleagues do not rule out the establishment of direct contacts and relations between the two alliances or the creation of new bodies. This is a question of the future which will need further thought.

The main question for a united Germany is the level of armaments. We agree on one thing: All states, including a united Germany, must be guided by the principles of defensive doctrine. This means having the quantity of arms and armed forces which are essential purely for defense. We are agreed on this. The qustion is: How can this be achieved? This needs further study.

Eduard Shevardnadze considers that there were no disagreements among the participants of the meeting in Prague. The first consultations and exchange of views since the well-known changes in East Europe have been held. Certain divergences in views are a natural process, the Soviet minister stressed.

Dienstbier Remarks

LD1703204690 Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] The foreign ministers of Warsaw Treaty countries have had a meeting in Prague by mutual agreement. They adopted a resolution to be published later.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier has told journalists the discussions at the meeting were open, frank, and constructive. The right of the German people to unification was confirmed. According to Jiri Dienstbier, the meeting pointed out that a united Germany must once and for all declare firmly its recognition of the inviolability of its borders with Poland.

The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, in an interview on Soviet television, has said that all participants in the conference called for synchronizing the movement of the two German states towards unity and efforts to build European security. He said that in his view that was the main result of the meeting. We are unanimous, Eduard Shevardnadze said, that all countries, including a united Germany, must proceed from the principles of a defensive doctrine.

He also said that the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers arrived at the conclusion that the military and political alliances of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO should be transformed into political and military ones.

Leaves Prague 17 Mar

LD1703182190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague, 17 Mar (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, left Prague today for Moscow. He had been taking part in the meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states.

He was seen off at the airport by CSSR Deputy Foreign Minister Z. Matejka and other officials.

Among those seeing him off was V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

Warsaw Treaty Information Team Meets in Moscow

LD1403145690 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—Representatives of Warsaw Treaty member states held a regular meeting of the multilateral mutual current information team in Moscow on Tuesday. They discussed urgent problems linked with the situation in Europe and further promotion of the all-European process, including the implementation of the suggestion to hold a summit conference of 35 CSCE states in 1990.

Analyst Discusses CEMA Restructuring

LD1603232490 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

Over the past few days the Secrtariat of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) has been busy preparing for next week's meeting in Prague by an ad hoc working group charged with drafting plans for CMEA restructuring. Much is expected from the work of the group. It is to formulate recommendations for the comiing CMEA regular session. There is already a solid basis for a concerted exercise—the partners agree on the direction in which the restructuring is to be pursued.

The radically new situation that has developed in East Europe requires a resolute revision of principles that provided the basis for CMEA cooperation in the past. Practically all the capitals of the council's member-countries now appear to recognise this.

They understand that new relations between partners must be mutually beneficial, forming a direct link between cooperation and national economic objectives. This, in turn, presupposes placing the entire cooperation mechanism on a market basis. The European CMEA countries agree that the achievement of this goal necessarily involves a transition to world prices and convertible national currencies.

The reform is to free CMEA countries from the framework of their own organisation, allowing them to extend their cooperation to other regional economic structures, above all European, and to return to the world economy. This objective may be facilitated by setting up free trade zones on the territories of the European CMEA partners. The idea is now being debated in the council's secretariat.

This restructuring will ease the task of overcoming the economic differences between East and West, caused by the special nature of the social and economic structures of the USSR and its East-European partners. In the process, many different handicaps will have to be removed.

But the actions are required to avoid stagnation, fraught with more domestic conflicts and turmoil, and to occupy a place within the world community matched by their potential. To achieve these aims, it is necessary to remove ideological blinkers and to make a sober judgement on the possibilities, limits and spheres of CMEA cooperation.

The time for a radical revamping of the CMEA is now. The council must no longer be a "centre for cooperation" or a "practical headquarters of integration", as it used to be called, real interest must become one of the main guiding principles for the CMEA. Cooperation must depend on who wants what and will not necessarily embrace all member-countries. The important thing is that cooperation should not be prejudicial to any one party.

The CMEA's task is to relinquish grand intentions and become a truly economic organization. This means that the council must be an analytical, forecasting centre and occupy a worthy place among the international economic organisations as a developer of ideas and projects. The sooner the CMEA restructures itself, the more benefits it will will accrue for CMEA itself and its member-states.

E. Bloc Power Industry Cooperation Noted

PM1603155190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Second Edition p 7

[A. Rudenko article: "Kilowatts of 'Mir.' Where Do They Come From and Where Do They Go?"]

[Text] The "Mir" unified power system has long been a prime example of CEMA cooperation. Agreement in principle on the parallel operation of national power systems was reached back in 1959 at the 11th CEMA session....

I used to think that it was somewhere very far away—after all, the "Mir" central control is in Prague and specially built power lines stretch across the Ukraine to its western borders. In fact, "Mir" turned out to be just a stone's throw away from the editorial office—about 20 minutes by subway to 7, Kitayskiy Proyezd, where the Central Control Administration of the USSR's Integrated Power System is located. It is from here that approximately 34 billion kilowatt-hours of Soviet electricity is distributed to the six "Mir" countries each year.

There is nothing surprising about the emergence of multinational power systems. In Europe there is the union for production coordination and electricity distribution. Its central control is located in the Swiss town (or rather, village) of Laufenburg. In Scandinavia there is "Nordel." In East Europe there is CEMA's "Mir," which covers the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and the USSR.

I spent a long time wandering around the strange twists and turns of this multistory building before coming to the modest nameplate "Central Control Administration, USSR Integrated Power System." A militiaman carefully checked my pass (security is paramount!) and then, going up to the seventh floor, I went into the office of A. Bondarenko, chief controller of the USSR Integrated Power System's Central Control Administration.

"Would you like to talk about the weather?" was Aleksandr Fedorovich's enigmatic first question. "The weather has the most immediate effect on us—if average temperatures fall by a single degree power consumption in this country alone increases by 600-700 megawatts. But we have a huge economy—from Chita to the Elbe."

The variegated colors of the Ukrainian unified power system appeared on the display screen. Modern 750-kilovolt lines are colored blue, 400-kilovolt lines are colored red, and 220-kilovolt lines are depicted as yellow—these were the lines with which the "Mir" system began.

Total electricity exports from the USSR have long since ceased to be secret. Incidentally, exports are growing at a faster rate than production. Whereas in 1970 slightly more than 5 billion kilowatt-hours were exported, this figure had risen to 20 billion by 1980, and in 1988 we "sent" 33.7 billion kilowatt-hours over the "Mir" power system alone (moreover, we supply Finland, Turkey, Norway, and Mongolia, and seasonal exchanges have been organized with Austria). Although, on the other hand, this represents just two percent of total Soviet electricity production.

We earn approximately 1 billion transfer rubles [R] a year. Another point is that the money does not go directly to power workers, but to the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations—or, more accurately, to the "Tekhnopromeksport" All-Union Association's "Energovolt" Association.

The lack of "feedback" is not very perceptible as yet, but this scheme has no future. After all, energy consumption in the USSR is constantly growing, while power station capacity (particularly after the Chernobyl disaster) is increasing at an insignificant rate. Add to this the fact that transfer rubles are hard to convert into the goods we need. Now the Italians are proposing new technology in exchange for kilowatt-hours.... Admittedly, the last CEMA session sitting in Sofia inspires hope that with the transition to accounting in world prices many of the power workers' problems will disappear.

[In the following table the headings denote: G—GDR; P—Poland; C—CSSR; H—Hungary; R—Romania; B—Bulgaria]

S	G	P	C	H	R	B
Production, billion kilowatt-hours	118.3	144.3	87.4	28.9	75.2	45
Consumption, billion kilowatt-hours	120.2	148.8	95	40.2	82.4	49.2
Deliveries from USSR, billion kilowatt-hours	1.8	6.4	4.3	11	5.6	4.5
as percentage of consumption	1.5	4.3	4.5	27.4	6.8	9.1

It is clear from the table that all countries both import and export electricity. This means that there is cooperation!

Incidentally, we need to make two amendments. Romania has already been operating in isolation from its neighbors for approximately seven years, restricting itself to importing power from the USSR. Moreover, certain countries also export electricity to capitalist states—specifically, Austria and Greece—and earn hard currency in the process. I would merely like to warn against any hasty conclusions—there is nothing "underhand" about these kilowatt-hours and there is no point in accusing our partners of reselling Soviet power for convertible currency.

...I will not describe the room—it is depicted on the photograph. I would merely draw your attention to the telephone equipment. It provides a direct link with the "Mir" system's Central Control Administration in Prague. The phone will be answered by one of two duty control officers who speak fluent Russian—CEMA's working language. They, in turn, have direct access to the state control administrations of all participants in the power system. Admittedly, they are not entitled to issue orders, they mainly carry out a coordinating and registering function. The Central Control Administration management, whose leaders are changed once every two years for representatives of another "Mir" country in alphabetical order, is also located in Prague.

[Rudenko] Is there any disruption to the work?

[Bondarenko] There is no such thing as an ideal supplier. I would merely like people to understand us. For instance, last summer there were disruptions to supplies to Hungary owing to emergency repairs, and certain hotheads decided that the Soviet Union was thereby attempting to exert pressure on the country's political life. On the whole, the USSR is considered to be a reliable supplier, and the technology itself has been in place for 30 years. But we should not work on a day-to-day basis. Do you see the "Index" indicator board on the left? It indicates the intensity of the current and, therefore, of our work.

Problems in Trade With E. Bloc Viewed

PM1603142190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Second Edition p 7

[Boris Averchenko "Editor's Comment" accompanying PRAVDA "How We Trade" feature: "On an Equal Footing, Advantageously"]

[Text] "Should we exchange an ax for a sheepskin, or a barrel of oil for a pack of foreign cigarettes"—this, figuratively speaking, is the question now plaguing many of our economic managers, or so a foreign trade official whom I know told me. He immediately went on to explain: Just as in times gone by, we are still shipping to foreign markets mainly raw materials and only a small quantity of industrial goods.

But we do engage in extensive trade with allied states and CEMA countries. Indeed, they account for about 60 percent of the USSR's foreign trade turnover. Unfortunately, even in this sphere things are not altogether auspicious. At some point in the recent past, the dynamic development of mutual trade ties was replaced by a tendency toward noticeable decline. There are numerous reasons behind this negative situation. But the main one evidently lies in the fact that the economic relations which have existed between the allied countries for many years have outlived their usefulness, have become obsolete, and are now at odds with the processes and reforms currently under way in these countries.

Nonetheless, we cannot manage without each other. The economic ties which have developed in the socialist world during the postwar period cannot be simply broken. They are vitally necessary for each of the cooperating countries, and any break in them would result in unpredictable consequences. This is easily seen if you examine the reports published today on the present state and future prospects of the Soviet state's trade with allied countries.

Take Poland, for example, where we account for about one-third of its foreign trade. What would happen to its economy if it were no longer able to receive from us each year more than 15 million tonnes of oil and oil products, over 7 billion cubic meters of gas, about 13 million tonnes of iron ore, and considerable quantities of electricity, cotton, machine tools, and machinery?

Of course, none of this is a gift. In return, Poland supplies us with over 11 million tonnes of coal a year, rolled ferrous metals, sulfur, railroad cars, machine tools, plant equipment, clothing, medicines, and other goods.

Of course, it would hardly be correct to claim that trade between the two countries is conducted without any hitches at all or that there are no reciprocal complaints among the partners. Even our readers' letters frequently claim that we—"for the sake of international duty" and "fraternally," as it were—are shipping oil, gas, and other raw materials to our friends and incurring losses thereby. While in Poland I had occasion to hear something completely different. Namely, that the Soviet side does not pay enough for ships built in Polish shipyards—especially in view of the fact that more than 1,000 such ships, several maritime flotillas, are now flying the Soviet flag.

As I already said, there are problems in our trade relations. There are, however, also quite a few rumors, conjectures, and superficial judgments around this issue. Today nobody makes a secret of the fact that there were times when we really incurred annual losses in the order of $2 billion on raw material deliveries, since settlements were not based on world prices. The situation has recently been changing for the better. The same can be said about Polish fishing ships. They are high-quality ships. But our economists believe that they would cost us more dearly when compared against world prices. And yet, it is well known that buying and selling is rarely completely equivalent; it is, however, necessary and can be advantageous. Moreover, we and our Polish friends alike have at times had opportunities to sell our goods more advantageously but we honored our commitments. Unfortunately, the contracts they have signed have not always been honored in the recent past.

The majority of allied countries are now advocating a gradual transition to market principles in reciprocal trade, with settlements in freely convertible foreign currency. This would open fresh opportunities for cooperation within the CEMA framework and with Western firms.

Many readers express doubts: Is it necessary to keep up large-scale deliveries of raw materials to some East Europe countries where the domestic situation is complex and "there is no telling which path they will take"? Naturally, this is too blunt a method, especially in trade. As it happens, we are in the process of reviewing the practice of cooperation with allied countries, setting the goal of placing it on a really equal and mutually advantageous footing.

Of course, this certainly does not mean that we will break our commitments to fraternal states overnight and will start seeking the most advantageous new markets. For example, we have firm trade ties with the GDR. Regardless of the well known events which are taking place there now, we have no intention of writing off this republic as an important trade partner.

Generally speaking, it is not in our nature to leave our friends in the lurch. An exceptionally difficult situation developed in Romania this winter. Realizing this, the Soviet land immediately rushed to help—a significant additional quantity of oil, gas, and other raw materials and energy sources was shipped there. "We are grateful to the Soviet Union, which is giving us specific assistance in this difficult situation," Romania's Minister of the National Economy Victor Stanculescu declared. "The situation is now changing, and it is changing largely thanks to the USSR's prompt and tangible help."

On looking through the published selection of materials, it is impossible to overlook a series of phenomena which inflict major damage on the development of trade between allied countries. They include irregular fulfillment of mutual commitments, delayed settlements, the far from perfect structure of commodity turnover, and much else besides. Grave alarm is evoked by the quality of reciprocally delivered products, and machine building industry products in particular. Production sharing and specialization remain at a low level as before, and direct ties between CEMA countries' enterprises and organizations are underdeveloped.

Trade workers, production workers, and economic managers must persistently study and must become perfect masters of the diverse and flexible methods of foreign trade. Business should be conducted in such a fashion as to yield the greatest possible effect. Soviet foreign trade workers, economic managers, and engineers should be more frequently perturbed by this question: "What is the most advantageous way to exchange our raw materials and equipment for the latest technologies and computers so as to more swiftly come to grips with scientific and technical progress?"

Gorbachev To Reshuffle Overseas Envoys

OW1703020590 Tokyo KYODO in English 0051 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 16 KYODO—Newly elected Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev will reshuffle more than 10 major ambassadors stationed overseas in the near future, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said Friday.

Gerasimov told KYODO NEWS SERVICE that the change was part of the ministry's regular rotation of diplomats and will affect ambassadors in major countries. Less than 15 people will be called back to Moscow, he said.

Another Soviet source said Ambassador Oleg Troyanovskiy, who served in Tokyo between 1967 and 1976 and is currently stationed in China, will be included in the list reshuffling.

It is unusual for so many top Soviet diplomats to be changed at one time, sources said.

Gorbachev, who was elected the nation's first president on Thursday in the extraordinary meeting of the Congress of People's Deputies, has the power to directly appoint or dismiss diplomats, sources said.

'Immutability' of Borders Reiterated

PM1603151990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[USSR Foreign Ministry response to reader's letter: "Our Position is Clear"]

[Text] There is furious discussion going on about the inviolability of the postwar borders. Is the question of the RSFSR's [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Kaliningrad Oblast (the former East Prussia) affected in this context?
[Signed] O. Zuyev, Kaliningrad

At the present time the question of Kaliningrad Oblast is not being raised by the FRG political leadership. However, this question has been repeatedly touched upon by representatives of so-called unofficial circles, particularly revanchist organizations in that country. However, it should also be borne in mind that there exists a decision by the FRG Constitutional Court on the legal existence of the "German Reich" within the 1937 borders.

The Soviet Union adopts an unambiguous stance on this question, firmly advocating European stability and the immutability of the prevailing borders of European states. This stance will also be defended by the USSR at the talks between the two German states and the four victorious powers.

Moscow Meeting Airs Trade Issues

PM1603150590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[Al. Stepanov report: "Getting To Know Each Other Better"]

[Text] The organizers of this meeting of representatives of business circles from many countries need no special introduction—Stanford University (United States), Deutsche Bank (FRG), and the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry. The list of participants too reads like a veritable geography lesson, extending from Colombia to Japan and from Canada to Australia. The gathering included not only learned economists and representatives of "pure" business—that is, industry and banking—but also people who are no strangers in the U.S. corridors of power—Senator Frank Lautenberg and former Senators Gary Hart and Edmund Muskie.

What brought all these people who are more than aware of the value of their time to Moscow? The answer is obvious: The desire to develop business ties with the USSR. For this purpose they need to know more about our country and current and future economic reforms. In order to properly cater for this interest, representatives of the top echelon of the Soviet economic establishment, as Western journalists described it—production managers, leaders of ministries and departments, and prominent scientists—were invited on our side. The dialogue opened with a discussion of the state of the Soviet economy, and both sides unanimously described it as extremely serious. Our guests did not deem it necessary to be particularly diplomatic in their choice of words, but, even so, it has to be admitted that more critical assessments have been heard from the rostrum of the Congress of People's Deputies. Problems of the USSR's participation in international economic organizations, financial aspects of cooperation, questions relating to conversion, and the prospects of the establishment of the single European market by 1992 were touched upon.

German Unity Talks Make 'Concrete' Headway

PM1603151590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Ye. Bovkun dispatch: "Compromise Formula"]

[Text] Bonn—"The die was cast" in a first attempt to identify priorities in the consultations on the German question in Bonn yesterday under the "two plus four" (or "four plus two") formula. However, almost as soon as the conference had ended, this formula, reminiscent of a soccer term to describe the lineup of the talks participants (the two German states and the four powers which bear legal responsibility for the whole of Germany), proved outdated.

At any rate, it was absent from the short communique read out by D. Kastrup, head of the Bonn Foreign

Ministry's Second Political Department, after the consultations—which lasted seven hours.

The meeting, held at the level of foreign ministry experts, did not take place at the most auspicious moment for the government coalition: Its leader H. Kohl, who had apparently succeeded in persuading most of his foreign opponents in private conversations of the expediency of swift unification of Germany, has run into new difficulties. The allies are finding the rapid pace unacceptable, and they want least of all to be faced with a "fait accompli."

In passing, I must mention an interesting paradox. Political and psychological arguments against the headlong rush toward unification are being voiced in the West at the level of the "Common Market" and the public at large, not to mention objections on the part of leaders of the stature of Mitterrand and Thatcher. Meanwhile, NATO politicians have remained silent.

Why? For decades the unification of Germany was included in the alliance's documents as a common political aim in whose realization few people believed. Therefore people within the alliance now clearly consider that it would be tactless to reiterate the objections voiced by their political leadership.

Against this backdrop the results of the first round, modest though they are, are entirely concrete. FRG representatives have agreed to take Poland's wishes into consideration. It has been decided that it should be involved in the consultations among the "six" when they come to discuss borders, and the indications are that this will be soon.

H.-D. Genscher, greeting the conference participants, called on them to conduct their consultations in a constructive spirit. According to Genscher, the key question remains which military alliance the unified Germany should belong to during the transitional period before a single all-European security system is created.

The next meeting of the "six" will be held in the GDR capital some time after the elections to the People's Chamber, but definitely before 28 April, when the next meeting of EEC heads of state and government opens in Dublin, where the German question will occupy a major place on the agenda.

The first meeting of the six states has shown that the process of European and German unification cannot take place at different speeds as some Bonn politicians had hoped. The theory of two-speed development has been overturned by the practice of foreign policy contacts.

It has to be said to the credit of the ruling coalition that it proved capable of promptly readjusting its stance. "Pan-German parliamentary elections within the current year" are no longer being discussed in FRG government circles. The unification process, the federal chancellor now believes, will extend over years: Joint elections will not take place in 1991 at the earliest.

'International Situation' Program Aired

LD1603141790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 16 Mar 90

["International Situation, Questions and Answers" program, presented by station foreign political commentator Andrey Ptashnikov, with TASS military observer Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernyshev; Latin American "expert" Yuriy Isayev; and Sergey Pravdin, not further identified]

[Excerpt] [Ptashnikov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, to begin with, what can you say about the alarm and concern expressed by our listeners in their letters?

[Chernyshev] First and foremost I would like to say that I completely understand this concern over preserving our country's security at an appropriate level. The way I see it, this concern is conditioned by three main causes: In the first place, a purely mechanical transfer of the historical experience acquired in 1941 onto our times. Moreover, the changes which have taken place on the international arena over the most recent years, following the start of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, are not sufficiently taken into account. In the second place, despite considerable achievements in the questions of glasnost, our Soviet public is nevertheless insufficiently broadly informed about the state of affairs in the military sphere, particularly about how military development was carried out earlier, in the pre-perestroyka period, and to what changes in the qualitative and quantitative composition of our armed forces we aspire in the final analysis. Finally, in the third place, those who voice concern are apparently not quite clear what security in the age of nuclear missiles means.

Let us examine this. By what are the radical changes in our foreign and military policies conditioned? Perestroyka, having encompassed all the aspects of life of Soviet society, could not but affect these spheres, too. I think that what is most important concerning perestroyka in the military sphere is the introduction of a rational, realistic and, if you like, an economical approach toward ensuring the country's security. It is now clear that security cannot be ensured by military means alone, neither by the use of force, nor by intimidation, nor by a constant build-up of military potentials. The path leading toward stability is only one: to lower the level of military confrontation, to reduce military potentials in the direction of sensible sufficiency for defense.

There is another cause. We all have somehow become accustomed to think: The more arms we have, the more should our lives be peaceful and secure. This is the reason why we were not overconcerned about how much by way of resources was spent on this supersecurity—for this is what I would call it—that is to say, security with very great reserves of strength indeed. But, after all, the arms race damages the economy to a certain extent, beyond which there begins a process of overextending the country's economy, something that poses a threat to the country's security.

Our country's military doctrine itself has been fundamentally reappraised. It has become defensive both as far as its form and its content are concerned. In content it used to be defensive but this was not the case as far as its form was concerned. Our strategy envisaged offensive operations as being the main type of combat operations involved in repelling outside aggression. This, then, determined the numerical strength, the structure and the level to which our armed forces were armed and equipped. Now, though, it should be defense that should be the main type of combat operations in repelling an attack. A considerably smaller potential is needed for this. This is the reason why the unilateral troop and arms cuts now being carried out have become possible. The principle of the more arms the better is no longer regarded as being of paramount importance. THe concept of the sensible defense sufficiency and going over to the qualitative parameters of the development of armed forces are now inherent in the foundation of military development. That is to say, the emphasis on quantity has now been thrown out. It has been shifted onto more modern and effective equipment and arms, according to the principle of it is better to have less, but what you do have ought to be more effective. It is this that makes it possible to cut the armed forces, arms and military spending.

At the same time, our leadership is doing all it can to ensure that reductions of arms and of Army and Navy personnel do not entail a lowering of their military potential and of the country's defense capability, and so that no imbalance emerges in the military-strategic parity.

Taking into account the fact that the United States and the NATO bloc as a whole continue to pursue a policy aimed at ensuring military and technical superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact; that they create and deploy new and highly effective systems of nuclear arms and, particularly, of conventional arms, we are compelled to continue to make the necessary effort to maintain the equilibrium practically through the entire range of arms systems, means of communication, means of reconaissance, and intelligence collection and command systems.

[Ptashnikov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, you have been talking about the cuts which our country is carrying our unilaterally. But what can one say about the arms reduction and limitation talks and, in particular, about the concessions the Soviet Union is making.

[Chernyshev] The point is that you can carry out unilateral reductions so far and no further, and the parameters of the cuts we have announced and are carrying out were carefully and painstakingly checked and calculated. Further cuts should be carried out in partnership with the United States and NATO—that is to say, as a result of talks. As for concessions at the talks, I would emphasize this circumstance. I myself took part for a long time in the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and arms in central Europe. I acquired certain experience at these talks, and I have a pretty clear picture of what, precisely, is currently taking place. First and foremost it should be noted that talks are like trade: Each side's opening gambit is generally to ask for considerably more than the sum it reckons to get. Subsequently you play for gradually smaller and smaller stakes. This is a completely natural process of negotiations, and the changes which the position of this or that side goes through are directed at making the points of view closer. Without a constructive approach of this kind one can hardly count on achieving mutually acceptable results.

Apart from that, one should also like to note the fact that it is not only the Soviet Union that introduces changes to its position at the talks—the United States and the NATO countries as whole do this, too. So, it is a bilateral process. At the same time, now that I am on the subject, I would like to say that it is not always that our original proposals have been thought through to the end, and that is why in certain cases we have to travel further toward this coming closer of the sides' positions at the talks.

One more consideration. Taking into account the fact that many talks entail many stages, evidently one should not endeavor to resolve all the problems at a stroke during the initial stage. One must ponder more carefully what can realistically be accomplished during the first stage, leaving other problems to be dealt with during subsequent stages. In other words, one must have a long-term plan of talks, like the chess player who anticipates his moves well in advance in his game.

[Ptashnikov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, at the beginning of our broadcast I said that our radio listeners were showing a very great deal of interest in the current state of affairs at the various disarmament talks between the USSR and the United States. In particular, these are questions on the Vienna talks on conventional arms forces in Europe, since it is precisely there, in Vienna, that decisions are to be made on substantial and mutual troop and conventional arms reductions. So, could you describe—in brief, at least—the present situation at these talks?

[Chernyshev] Another round—the sixth round of the talks has just resumed in Vienna. It must be said that the proceding round was full of an intensive search for mutually acceptable decisions and specific formulas with regard to practically all the issues of the future first stage agreement. The sides have taken a number of tangible steps, meeting each other half-way. They strove to broaden the areas of mutual understanding. Nonetheless, as I see it, the pace of the talks is still hardly comensurate with the tasks and timeframes set by the highest leadership of the participating countries. Progress is hampered by differences in the positions of the sides. One of these differences, to give an example, is the following problem: The problem of Air Force cuts. NATO representatives have recently made a concession.

At long last, they agreed with the Warsaw Pact proposal that apart from the arms of the ground forces, aircraft, and helicopeters ought also to be subject to reductions. They also accepted our proposal that apart from the general ceiling on the number of aircraft, a separate level ought to be established for air defense fighter-interceptors. However, opinions diverge on what sort of level this ought to be.

The sides' positions regarding land-based naval aviation being taken into consideration continue to fail to coincide. Some issues concerning artillery also remain unresolved. In my view, the problem of cutting armed forces' personnel occupies a special position. The Warsaw Pact countries have recently agreed with the Western proposal that the United States and the USSR will not have more than 195,000 personnel of the ground forces and the air force on foreign territory in central Europe. They also agreed to the United States having up to 30,000 servicemen outside the confines of central Europe.

At the same time, and in order that our security does not suffer, we proposed to confine the total numerical strength of the personnel of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in central Europe to the level of 700,000 or 750,000 men on each side. For the time being, however, the NATO countries have been rejecting our proposal, alleging that its examination would prolong the talks. In my view, the question of cutting the numerical strength of troop personnel is a fundamental one, and here one should not go for any more concessions of one kind or another. Let us hope that the situation at the talks and sense of the Warsaw Pact countries' proposal is, all the same, analyzed again in the capitals of the NATO countries and in the bloc's headquarters, that the correct decision is arrived at, and that they will change their position with regard to the problem of bringing the numerical strength of troops in central Europe down to the same level. A shift of this kind on the part of the Western countries is, in my view, extremely essential, so that the first agreement is prepared and signed in Vienna this year.

[Ptashnikov] Thank you Vladimir Nikolayevich.

[Passage omitted: Isayev profiles Noriega, says that nothing justifies U.S. aggression against a sovereign state; Ptashnikov explains principle of consecutive sentences given prisoners in the United States; Pravda explains Okinawa's role in the U.S. military structure, and goes on to explain status of Gibraltar]

United States & Canada

U.S. Satellite Debris Expected To Fall in USSR

Secret Equipment Will Burn Up

PM1703212390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 5

[UPI report: "Will the Satellite Fall?"]

[Text] A $1-billion American reconnaissance satellite launched last month has gone out of control and is expected soon to enter the dense strata of the atmosphere and fall to earth, possibly on the territory of the Soviet Union.

Representatives of American intelligence organs have reported that the satellite's basic components will burn up on their passage through the atmosphere, so that the secret equipment will be destroyed, but the actual loss of this satellite does represent a serious setback.

The 20-ton KN-12 satellite, which is as big as a city bus, was put into orbit by the crew of the shuttle Atlantis. It was intended to carry out reconnaissance above Soviet territory in all weathers. The KN-12 could fall to earth in the next 30 days.

Classified Program Fulfilled

PM1703222790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Single Edition p 7

[Unattributed report: "United States: Satellite Falling"]

[Text] Individual parts of the secret cargo put into orbit by the shuttle Atlantis will fall to Earth soon, the Pentagon announced on Friday.

"The task set in connection with the Defense Department's classified program has been fulfilled," the military department's brief report also said, giving assurances that no threat to "life or property" is expected in connection with these parts' descent to earth.

The Atlantis was launched from Cape Canaveral (Florida) on 28 February. Its flight, which lasted four and a half days, was carried out under a U.S. Defense Department program and was entirely classified. Atlantis' orbit was substantially different from the orbits traced by shuttle craft during previous flights. As a NASA staffer stated, this was due to the fact that the ship's crew had to launch a reconnaissance satellite intended to carry out observation over the northern regions of the Soviet Union, which had previously been outside the zone of coverage of similar reconnaissance craft.

According to the American mass media, the $1-billion satellite was also intended for eavesdropping on and taking high-quality photographs of installations in a number of other countries. The Pentagon announcement on the falling to earth of "durable parts" of the Atlantis' secret cargo is an acknowledgment of the premature destruction of the spy-satellite, which was intended to stay in orbit for many years, according to the WASHINGTON POST. Citing intelligence sources, it reports that the satellite went out of action a week ago and could fall to earth in the next 30 days.

'No Danger to Human Life'

*OW1803003090 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT
17 Mar 90*

[Text] The U.S. Defense Department announced that part of a secret satellite which was launched by the space shuttle Atlantis last month might fall to earth. According to a statement issued by the Defense Department, it will probably be no danger to human life.

Prior to this announcement, APN press agency—or NOVOSTI press agency—of the Soviet Union reported on the danger of the possible fall of the U.S. spy satellite which was launched to collect intelligence on the Soviet Union.

According to APN press agency, part of the spy satellite is expected to fall within Soviet territory.

U.S. Silence Confirms Damage

*PM1803190790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 18 Mar 90 p 1*

[V. Ostrovskiy report: "Where the 'Spy' Will Fall"]

[Text] KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has learned from competent sources that on 7 March, Soviet systems that monitor USSR outer space picked up four objects on circular orbits around the earth. As of 0800 hours, 15 March, the altitude of these orbits was around 240 km. All four unidentified objects (of quite large dimensions) are circling at the same angle of inclination. They are located at a distance of 300-1,000 km from one another.

Analysis of the inclination of their orbits and the speed of alteration of their parameters has led our specialists to conclude that it cannot be ruled out that these "objects" will fall to earth in the period 19 March to 10 April. Here the possible trajectory of descent will pass over the northern regions of the Soviet Union.

As reported to us, these four fragments presumably separated from the American spy satellite that was launched into space by the shuttle Atlantis two weeks ago. The weight of the space spy was around 17 tons.

The most mysterious feature of this story is that NASA has divulged no information whatsoever about the detected objects or the actual satellite. It is worth reminding people of the existence of the international Convention on the Registration of Objects Launched into Outer Space, which was approved by the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly back in 1974. Under it, the Americans were obliged to report to other countries—via the United Nations—the parameters of the orbit of the satellite and, of course, of the fragments that became detached from it.

It must be supposed that the "spy" in space was blown up by its owners for reasons as yet unknown. The continuing silence on this score by those across the Atlantic who are carrying out the program of space espionage over our country's territory and airspace merely serves to confirm the likelihood of the event.

President Bush Assesses Gorbachev Election

LD1603194290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Head of the U.S. Administration George Bush has made an assessment of Comrade Gorbachev's election to the post of president of the USSR. I have to say that his remarks were notable for their restraint, though he has also noted the importance of the decision adopted at the Congress of People's Deputies. Here's my colleague, commentator Andrey Ptashnikov, with more detail on the Bush statement:

[Ptashnikov] You're right. In his speech Bush refrained from making enthusiastic assessments of Gorbachev's election as president of the USSR. Yet he did not conceal his satisfaction with what has happened. Bush, you see, is a professional diplomat and politician, and they are generally restrained people. Nor is it hard to explain the U.S. President's satisfaction. He knows Mikhail Sergeyevich well. They have met personally on more than one occasion and have held talks. They consult regularly and maintain contacts, including telephone contact, on the most important international problems and on bilateral issues. In other words, a very businesslike relationship—and there is now every reason to state this—has developed between the two presidents.

In his public statements Bush has often spoken highly of Comrade Gorbachev, and on this occasion too he mentioned that the radical changes in East Europe have been made possible largely thanks to Gorbachev, whom Bush once again described as a very sensible man. [passage omitted]

U.S. Media Welcome Decision

PM1603162390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Nadein dispatch: "Effective Measure: U.S. Press on Decisions of Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] Washington—Newspaper commentators and radio and television reviewers concur that the form of presidential executive power that will now exist in the USSR most resembles the analogous model in the United States. This is just one of the reasons why the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies is perceived and commented on here as an effective measure. People here consider the chief merit of the executive power established in the Soviet Union to be its ability to carry out peacefully and quickly the process of the handover of power from the party to the state. In this connection THE WASHINGTON POST, for example, considers the absence of the cliches, popular quotations, and empty rhetoric customary in Soviet political language to be significant. In one way or another practically all commentators have singled out M.S. Gorbachev's words on the president's duty to represent the whole people and not individual political trends.

However, does this intention not run counter to the fact that M.S. Gorbachev still retains his post as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee? Discussing this problem, a correspondent for CNN, a popular television channel, agreed with the opinion that Gorbachev's departure at the present time could upset the balance of forces in the party leadership.

Newspapers cite the opinion expressed by President G. Bush at a meeting in the White House with the council of directors of the National Newspaper Association.

"I believe that the danger has diminished significantly today thanks to what they have done in their parliament or, rather, at the Congress," he said. "They have emerged from the totalitarian past. They are investing the new president with tremendous power, but I do not see this as a threat and I certainly do not perceive it as a danger at this stage."

Bush said that East Europe is to a large extent obliged to Gorbachev for the peaceful nature of the changes that have occurred there, and he particularly noted Moscow's promise not to use force to resolve political questions.

After emphasizing that, by contrast with the First Congress, Gorbachev was criticized at this one by conservatives, who made up the majority of those who voted against his candidacy, THE WASHINGTON POST's correspondent foresees the adoption of radical decisions in the economic sphere in the very near future.

Gorbachev Election Effects on U.S. Ties Viewed

LD1703182390 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Vladislav Kozykov commentary]

[Text] How will the election of Mikhail Gorbachev, the first Soviet president, affect Soviet-American relations? Here is a commentary by Vladislav Kozykov:

In his major speech being sworn-in as president, Mikhail Gorbachev touched upon relations with America. He disclosed that constructive decisions are being prepared for the upcoming meeting with President Bush, decisions that will mean not only a new step towards better bilateral ties. They'll become an important contribution by the powers to consolidating the positive trends in world politics, Gorbachev stressed.

The American President has congratulated Mikhail Gorbachev on his election. A presidential spokesman has reported that Mr. Bush wished the president-elect well as he leads the Soviet Union into the next stage of perestroyka and democratization. Mr. Bush was looking forward to his meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. He considers the June summit an opportunity to broaden the already considerable element of cooperation between the two countries. [Word indistinct] reports indicate that the introduction of a presidential office in the USSR can give a fresh impetus to bilateral ties.

Perestroyka is becoming an increasingly effective factor in world relations. The United States and other nations wish perestroyka a success and rely on it for progress at negotiations and for a solution to various problems. American Congress has been discussing what can be done with the military budget in the light of perestroyka's development. And now it is clear to all that the introduction of Presidentship and the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as the first Soviet president are a follow up to the processes of renewal. The perestroyka factor thereby gains more strength and influence in world affairs.

At a meeting with newspaper editors, Mr. Bush was asked if he thought the concentration of power in the hands of the Soviet president was a risk. He replied no because, as he put it, the command of the (?totalitarianism of the past) [words indistinct] with the institution of Presidentship in the Soviet Union, its foreign policy is getting stronger, democratic, legal guarantees. Although the president gets extensive powers in foreign policy, there can be no talk about his decisions on some military actions against other states. Presidential power is counterbalanced by that of parliament, that controls the president.

President Gorbachv has said that in accordance with a principle now in effect in this country, the use of armed forces outside the country without sanctions from the Supreme Soviet or the Congress of People's Deputies is ruled out once and for all. Armed force can be used only in the event of a surprise attack from outside.

Incidentally, in this respect the powers of the Soviet president are more limited than those of the American President who, as all of us saw recently, can send troops abroad without asking the Congress for that beforehand.

Judging by President Gorbachev's statements, he intends to exercise his broad powers to search for new accords with America and other countries. But, for this, goodwill and reciprocal steps from the other side are certainly indispensible.

Joint Telecommunications Pact Signed in U.S.

LD1603110290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2023 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Summary] Washington, 14 Mar (TASS)—An agreement was signed today between Sprint International and two Soviet bodies: the Central Telegraph of the USSR Ministry of Communications and the Institute of Electronics and Computer Research of the Latvian Academy of Sciences. The agreement, signed in Reston, Virginia, provides for setting up joint enterprises.

A new joint company, Telenet USSR, will modernize and expand telecommunications in the Soviet Union. It will open a center in Moscow linked to Sprint International's latest system, which will circulate economic and other news electronicaly within the USSR. The company will also market communications equipment which Soviet organizations wish to acquire.

China

Gorbachev Cited on USSR-PRC Relations

LD1703143890 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Beijing March 17 TASS—Under the headline "Gorbachev: Soviet-Chinese Relations Should Develop", the XINHUA news agency circulated a report welcoming the Soviet Union's sincere readiness to develop and strengthen relations with China.

The agency noted that Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev expressed confidence that Soviet-Chinese relations would be stable and would develop.

Speaking at his first press conference in the Kremlin on Thursday in his capacity of an executive president, XINHUA writes, Gorbachev described the forthcoming visit to the USSR by the Chinese premier as a major event.

The Soviet leader stressed that the visit would give impetus to the development of relations between the two countries.

"We praise these relations, hold them dear and shall do our best to develop them," the agency quotes the statement by the Soviet leader.

The Soviet president noted that during the forthcoming visit by the Chinese premier, the sides would discuss many problems concerning bilateral relations and the situation in the Asian and Pacific region.

PRC Minister Praises USSR Trade Relations

LD1403201790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Today, an intergovernmental protocol was signed in Beijing on trade turnover and payments between the Soviet Union and China for 1990. At the same time, the general delivery conditions were signed. Our correspondent in Beijing, Vladimir Kulikov reports:

[Kulikov] After the May summit meetings in Beijing, Soviet-Chinese commercial and economic relations are developing rapidly. [passage omitted]

In his interview to a Soviet television correspondent, Comrade Katushev attributed the positive results of the work which had been done to the fact that an expansion of Soviet-Chinese trade turnover had taken place. In comparison with 1989, growth has accounted for 36 percent. [passage omitted]

Zheng Tuobin, Chinese minister of foreign trade, took part in our conversation, which took place immediately after the signing of the agreement. He said that the visit of the Soviet government delegation to China had passed successfully. We not only signed documents of importance for our countries, but also exchanged opinions on the most topical questions of commercial and economic links. Your country, Zheng Tuobin said, has become the PRC's fifth largest trade partner. Taking account of the fact that the potential possibilities of our countries in the sphere of commercial and economic cooperation is very great, I am convinced that our relations will continue to develop.

Joint Protocol Signed

LD1803033190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Video report by correspondent V. Kulikov in Beijing; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, Soviet-Chinese talks on issues relating to trade and economic cooperation between our two countries have ended in Beijing. Moreover, this has been the first time in the past 30 years that the ministers from our two countries in charge of foreign economic contacts and foreign trade have met. Our Beijing correspondent has the details on the outcome of the meeting.

[Kulikov] Katuschev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations, and Tuobin Zheng, his Chinese counterpart signed an intergovernmental protocol in Beijing on trade turnover and payments between our countries for this year. The overall growth in the volume of trade is 36 percent more than in 1989.

[Katushev] We purchase consumer durables. We purchase those raw materials that we need so much. By that I mean non-ferrous metals, for example, which we need for the production of high-quality steel, and a whole range of other goods. I believe we are starting to purchase various types of Chinese engineering and electronics products.

[Zheng Tuobin, PRC minister for foreign economic relations and trade, in Chinese with superimposed Russian translation] The way I see it, the visit to China by the Soviet Government delegation has been successful. We have not only signed documents of importance to our countries, but have exchanged opinions on topical issues of trade and economic ties. The development of our relations gives rise to optimism. [video shows signing ceremony and interviews with two ministers]

PRC's Economic Experience Helps Soviet Reform

OW1003035690 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Academician Shatalin has said that China's experience will help the Soviet Union minimize mistakes in carrying out economic reforms. A delegation he led attended the first seminar on Soviet and Chinese economic reforms in Moscow recently.

Academician Shatalin called for learning from China's experience in establishing open special economic zones, saying that foreign capital absorbed by those zones has quadrupled China's foreign trade volume. He added that China is now extensively applying leasing and household contract systems in agriculture, an area where it has scored the greatest achievement.

USSR-PRC Economic Cooperation Plans Noted

OW1503033190 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 24 Feb 90

[From "Taking the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Excerpts] The first Soviet-Chinese symposium on economic reform was held in Moscow last week. The symposium was attended by delegations of economists representing the Soviet Union and China. They discussed the most salient and urgent problems facing our two countries and the possibility of bilateral cooperation in solving the existing problems. Academician (Sakharin), leader of the Soviet delegation and one of the principal economists in our country, made an interesting statement at a meeting that is still fresh in our minds. Today, we will ask him to speak to our listeners. Our first question to the academician is about the prospects presented by the already closed symposium for contacts between Soviet and Chinese economists.

Academician (Sakharin) said: The common impression of the experts of both of our countries, many of whom talked directly with me, is that this first symosium was very successful. I am also pleased with the reports read at the symposium, the depth of the discussions we held, and the sincerity shown in our debates. I think that the economists of our two countries learned something from our discussions and will discuss it with their colleagues. Therefore, this practice will be continued. In my opinion, such meetings should not be limited only to the high academic level. [passage omitted]

Academician (Sakharin) went on to say that we plan to set up several specific work groups on labor markets and capital markets, free economic zones, on prevention of inflation and elimination of state budget deficits, and so on. These work groups should be limited in size but flexible in organization. These groups will be composed of experts with very broad and profound knowledge. They will study the economy from within and (?assess) useful things that will be suitable for our respective conditions. They will study problems of enterprises, planning organs, and commercial banks in order to propose the kind of system under which a certain enterprise or economic unit should operate.

Many participants in the symposium believe that cooperation between the scientists of our two countries will give an impetus to the development of mutually beneficial contacts between businessmen. We know such a possibility exists between our countries.

Academician (Sakharin) holds that contacts between experts at various levels who handle actual work should be supplemented with cooperation between scientists. This, first of all, will enable us to more quickly narrow the gap between science and practice. Through the joint efforts of scientists and people handling actual work, the economic reform and the social and economic development will be speeded up in our two countries. [passage omitted]

Former RENMIN RIBAO Editor Dismissed

PM1603143390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Dismissed From Post"]

[Text] Beijing, 15 Mar—Hu Jiwei, who previously headed the CPC Central Committee newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, was dismissed from his post today as member of the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee with the explanation "over his involvement in last year's political disturbances in Beijing." He was also relieved of his duties as chairman of the NPC Education, Science, Culture, and Public Health Commission. This was announced at a session of the Standing Committee of the country's supreme legislative body here.

Last October Hu Jiwei was sharply criticized for his attempts to organize a parliamentary opposition during the events of spring and summer. In particular, he was charged with calling for the convocation of an extraordinary session of the NPC Standing Committee, which could have made extensive personnel changes within the Chinese Government. Hu Jiwei was then reported to have denied charges of misconduct, citing his prerogatives as a deputy.

Northeast Asia

Further Reportage on Mongolia's Leadership Changes

Gorbachev Congratulates Ochirbat

LD1603162690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 mar (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev has congratulated Gombojavyh Ochirbat on his election as general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary party Central Committee. The Soviet leader expressed confidence that Soviet-Mongolian cooperation will continue to develop in the interests of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples.

Ochirbat Interviewed by TASS

LD1703154390 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Ulan Bator March 17 TASS—"Having started the restructuring of the Mongolian society, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party entered a new stage of its activity for the sake of the people and the country's interests. Its new course and measures were supported by the Mongolian people and increased their political activity," the party's new General Secretary Gombozhavyn Ochirbat told TASS.

He said that, unfortunately, these measures were only half-measures and were carried out inconsistently. The integral concept of restructuring was also developed slowly. The former party leadership failed to abandon the command-administrative system. Such a situation caused a certain reaction of informal associations and parties that emerged to promote restructuring.

The decision to resign passed by the Politburo of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the secretariat of the party's Central Committee and approved by the party plenum is reflecting the current crisis situation, Ochirbat said.

"The only way out of this situation is to radically renovate the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and its structures. An emergency party congress will be held on April 10. The delegates to the Congress will also be elected in a new way, by primary party organisations on the alternative basis.

Ochirbat also spoke about some foreign factors necessary for the success of restructuring. "We think that the creation of prospering Mongolia satisfying the needs of all its citizens can be possible only if we have good relations with our neighbours—the Soviet Union, China and other countries."

The Mongolian party leader emphasised that the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party will continue developing and improving Soviet-Mongolian cooperation.

New Members Meet With Aktiv

LD1703234090 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpt] [no dateline as received] The new members of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee Politburo elected at the Eighth Plenum of the party's Central Committee which was held here 12-14 March have energetically started their activity.

Gombojavyn Ochirbat, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, has met with the party's active members in the capital. In a speech to them, he stated that Mongolia, which is situated between two great countries, cannot develop normally without all- round cooperation with the outside world.

Touching on the appraisal of the activity of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo which had resigned in its entirety, he noted that right from the very beginning it had manifested inflexibility with regard to the new political forces in the country.

Also today, Tserenpiliyn Gombosuren, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, who also remains minister of foreign affairs, met with students and lecturers from Ulaanbaatar's institutions of higher education. A frank conversation took place at the meeting on the urgent problems in Mongolian society, especially those affecting young people. Replying to questions put by students, Ts. Gombosuren especially stressed the role of fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union in the coming into being of today's Mongolia.

A meeting took place today between Nyamyn Mishigdorj, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and the working people and residents of the workers' district of the Mongolian capital. [passage omitted]

Ochirbat Delivers National Address

LD1703221290 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar March 18 TASS—Restructuring and raising the living standards of the Mongolian people are the central concern of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The guaranty of democratic transformations must be provided by the introduction of plurality of opinions in all spheres of public life, the recognition of the rights of Mongolian citizens to form public organisations, said new general secretary of the Mongolian Party Central Committee Gombojavyn Ochirbat in a televised address to the nation.

We hope, he stressed, that at this historic point the people will retain their trust in the party. Its role in society is great. But this requires of the party a heightened awareness of its lofty historic mission.

The party, having renounced the legal guarantee of its power, will prove its guiding role by its practical activity, Ochirbat said.

The people were justified in hoping for changes after the 1988 fifth plenary meeting of the party Central Committee, which chartered the course towards renewal in all areas of public life, he said. However, the Central Committee and the Politburo did not dare to take decisive steps to implement the decisions. Promises were not kept concerning the renewal of the party. Sluggishness in the work of the party and the government, and shortages of essentials were the main causes of discontent in society, he stressed.

The present situation in the country demands the preservation of the nation's unity. Joint efforts of all political forces are needed and we believe that the new organisations and movements are aware of this responsibility. The party is ready to cooperate with all forces favouring national unity and security on the basis of constitutional provisions and legality.

The Mongolian leader prioritised the self-renewal of the party. He said that he pins great hopes on the forthcoming extraordinary congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

Speaking about the party's international activity, Ochirbat stressed that the preservation and development of good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic meets the Mongolian people's national interests. He expressed hope that the Sino-Mongolian relations would attain the same level as the Mongol-Soviet relations. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is also striving for mutually beneficial relations with all countries, he said.

Moscow TV on Leadership Changes

LD1603221290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Lordkipanidze video report]

[Text] We have a fairly long border with Mongolia and a good many problems in common as well. You are about to see a report on events in that country.

[Lordkipandize] After three days of work the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has come to an end in Ulaanbaatar. Those taking part in the plenum discussed the complex political situation that has developed in the country. The mass resignations of the Politburo and Secretariat of the MPRP Central Committee was accepted. Gombojavyn Ochirbat was elected general secretary of the MPRP. In the last two years Gombojavyn Ochirbat has represented the MPRP among the editors of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. The plenum set up an expanded commission to prepare and hold an emergency party congress to be convened on 10 April of this year.

In an interview immediately after the plenum finished work, Tseveenhavyn Oold, member of the MPRP Central Committee, said: The functions of state and party are demarcated in the Mongolian People's Republic. The MPRP will be dealing with its immediate duties: ideological, organizational and educational work. [video shows views of building with flag flying; Ochirbat addressing the plenum; faces in the auditorium; close-up of Oold]

[Announcer] The plenum adopted a decision to exclude the former dictator, Tsendenbal, from the MPRP ranks.

Mongolian Youth League Leadership Replaced

LD1703233290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0705 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 17 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Dugar Sanzhiyev reports:

The Extraordinary Plenum of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League [MRYL] ended here today. Its work was of an exceptional nature. The other day, MRYL members in the capital demanded the retirement of the entire Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission. The discussion extended way beyond midnight and ended in the early morning.

The plenumn of the MRYL Central Committee accepted the retirement of the Central Committee Buro, and in an open vote, elected a new governing composition of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League.

(Dashdorzhiyn Mandakh), 29, an MRYL member, was elected first secretary of the MRYL Central Committee. He worked latterly as secretary of the Council on Ideological Work and International Qeustions under the MRYL Central Committee. The remaining four members of the new Buro of the MRYL Central Committee are members of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party]. Only (G. Ganbold), secretary of the MRYL Central Committee, has passed from the old composition of the Buro to its new composition.

The plenum of the MRYL Central Committee decided to convene an extraordinary MRYL Congress on 4 April.

ROK's Kim Yong-sam Favors Expansion of Ties

LD1903122690 Moscow TASS in English 0951 GMT 19 Mar 90

[BY TASS correspsondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo March 19 TASS—Kim Yong-sam, chairman of the ruling South Korean Democratic Liberal Party, today went on record for the expansion of business relations with Soviet Union. He addressed an impromptu press conference at Seoul Airport before his departure for Moscow, YONHAP News Agency reports.

Replying to journalists, Kim Yong-sam stressed that he regarded the visit to the USSR as a good opportunity to promote the positive changes that have swept the world.

"I expect my present trip," he said, "to contribute to the expansion of Soviet-South Korean relations in all spheres. This will help solve the Korean problem."

Kim Yong-sam was invited for a 8-day visit to the Soviet Union by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He will address one of the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and will also deliver a lecture at Moscow State University.

Kong Yong-sam made a stopover in the Japanese capital today en route to the USSR. He will meet Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Japanese Socialist Party Takako Doi.

ROK Foreign Minister's E. Europe Visit Viewed

SK1803043390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Station commentary from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Last Sunday, ROK Foreign Minister Choe Hochung left on a trip to countries in South Asia and Eastern Europe. The countries he is expected to visit include Pakistan, India, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. (Andrey Ilyin), our station commentator, wrote as follows.

The ROK foreign minister will visit the three East European countries for the first time in history. It is expected that the ROK foreign minister will sign a protocol on the establishment of ambassadorial-level diplomatic relations when he visits Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. In Belgrade, talks will be held for the expansion of economic cooperation.

The (?diplomatic breakthrough) toward Eastern Europe through the establishment of relations with Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia was (?brought about) firstly by the No Tae-u government's new nordpolitik proclaimed in 1988. [sentence indistinct] development of full relations is anticipated between the (?ROK) and [word indistinct] countries.

Secondly, it was brought about by the rapid change toward democracy taking place in Eastern Europe. [word indistinct] is peace and coexistence between them. The ROK believes that the (?diplomatic steps) will be followed by (?positive steps) in economic and trade relations. Under conditions in which the protectionist trade policy is intensified by the United States and Western Europe against the ROK exports to world markets, it is [word indistinct] for the ROK companies. (?Competition among them) is seen in the markets in socialist countries. [sentence indistinct] However, all these companies think that they are faced with resistance from the U.S., West European, and Japanese firms. Despite the (?more advantageous position of the United States and Western Europe to Eastern Europe historically, geographically, and culturally, the ROK [words indistinct].

Eastern Europe is also interested in improving relations with the ROK. Under complicated economic conditions, East European countries need financial and technological assistance in their modernization work. It seems that East Europe is becoming a (?market) for the ROK construction companies as the Arab and Eastern countries were in the oil shock period of the 1970's.

Hungary is [word indistinct]. The (?vice minister of trade and industry said that Hungary is [words indistinct] for the ROK in developing economic cooperation with East European countries. [words indistinct] in the ROK, and the ROK is taking measures for the (?negotiation). Prior to the visits by the ROK foreign minister, the Chongwadae [presidential palace] decided to ease restrictions on the contacts with communist countries. [Words indistinct] Poland, Yugoslavia. Indications are that those countries will be Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. The Seoul plan includes the establishment of full diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic and Romania.

Daewoo Group is participating in the Leipzig market. This represents the first appearance of goods of a ROK company in the GDR.

The remarks by ROK Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung reveal the strategic principle of the ROK diplomacy. He said that if we establish relations with all East European countries, the Soviet Union will no longer ignore our efforts to normalize relations with it.

DPRK Foreign Ministry Group Visits Moscow

SK1703031390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 12 Mar 90

[From the "USSR-DPRK Ties" Program under the "Annals of Friendship" Program]

[Text] A delegation of the DPRK Foreign Ministry headed by Song Se-yong, vice foreign minister, visited Moscow. The issues on the Korean peninsula and a series of international issues of mutual interests were discussed at the talks held in the Soviet (?Foreign Ministry.)

The delegation also met with the (?officials) of the Department of the Socialist Countries of Asia Administration in the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Soviet-DPRK Cultural Exchange Criticized

SK1803044490 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 gmt 15 Mar 90

[Article by Station commentator (Walleli Slikov) on the Anniversary of the Signing of the Soviet-DPRK Cultural Cooperation Agreement]

[Text] March 17 marks the 41st anniversary of the signing of the agreement of economic and cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DPRK. The cultural ties between our two countries have been successfully developed on the basis of [words indistinct]. The station commentator (Walleli Slikov) writes as follows: The agreement of economic and cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DPRK was a unique agreement in view of its (?background). This agreement was indeed the first equal agreement which accorded with the interests of the Korean people. At that time, PRAVDA said: This is the first Soviet-Korean agreement. This agreement is the symbol of genuine friendship between the people of our two countries and constitutes an important contribution to the struggle for peaceful international cooperation in the Far East and the rest of the world.

Thanks to Soviet aid, People's Korea began to successfully solve its national [word indistinct] problem. In 1950, some 600 Korean students studied in Soviet universities, and Soviet teachers taught in colleges in Pyongyang.

At that time, cultural ties between the Soviet Union and Korea were also successfully developed in the different fields. In 1949 and 1950 alone, 70 literary works of Russian classial writers and Soviet writers were translated into Korean and published in Korea, and a Soviet film reception was held in the three DPRK cities of Pyongyang, Wonsan, and Hamhung. The Soviet cultural week, which was observed in the DPRK in October 1949 played an important role in promoting the Soviet-Korean cultural ties.

Exchanges of art troupes, actor and actress groups, delegations of scientists and cultural activists, sports delegations, [word indistinct], movie delegations, and television broadcast delegations; the exchange of various exhibitions; the exchange of [word indistinct]; and cooperation in the science and education fields are precisely the forms of cultural cooperation between the two countries in recent years.

However, in the cultural ties between our two countries everything does not always go as smoothly as we would like. [Word indistinct] has not satisfied us for a long time. For many years, the Soviet Union has sent art troupes and actor and actress groups to the DPRK and given art performances there once a year. Korea should also do so. However, it does not perform its duty. Korea failed to give its planned art performances in the Soviet Union. For instance, the Pyongyang art troupe's performance, which was scheduled last year, has not been realized as yet.

For the past 41 years, the Soviet Ministry of Culture has advanced a (?relevant) proposal to the counterparty of Korea every year. Nevertheless, the day of Soviet culture has not been observed even once in the DPRK. This fact cannot be regarded as a normal practice.

However, despite all difficulties, mutual cooperation in the cultural field between the two countries will develop in the future, and we would like to believe that the cultural cooperation between our two countries will surely contribute to promoting friendship and mutual understanding between the people of our two countries.

Commentary on 'Team Spirit,' Polish Observation

SK1903044390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Commentary from the "Focus on Asia" Program"]

[Text] The "Team Spirit-90" joint ROK-U.S. military exercise is being staged in the Republic of Korea. The military commentator of this radio station (Sergey Blaskov) wrote about this.

The "Team Spirit" military exercise has been conducted from 1976 in the south of the Korean peninsula after various testing stages according to the ROK-U.S. (?agreement.) However, the military exercise this time has some noteworthy characteristics. Participating in this exercise are 180,000 troops, not 200,000 troops—the ordinary scale—and the basic missions of this exercise are reduced.

The current exercise will be staged for about 2 weeks. One should also point out the following aspects. The military observers from a socialist country are observing this exercise.

Poland, one of the four member nations of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, dispatched military observers for the first time, responding to Seoul's invitation.

This situation made a spokesman of the Republic of Korea's Defense Ministry assert that such a military exercise as the current "ROK-U.S." joint military exercise will help ease tension on the Korean peninsula. The negative reaction by the DPRK makes one doubt this.

The DPRK believes the "Team Spirit-90" exercise obstructs North-South dialogue. The "Team Spirit" military exercise is not (?beneficial) whether it is being staged during a state of confrontation or not. North Korea will try to cope with the danger considering the situation 40 years ago. Such a (?situation) may trigger an even more tragic disaster since U.S. nuclear weapons are deployed in the southern half of Korea.

The large-scale military exercise on the Korean peninsula, which is being waged while continuously (?strengthening the relations of alliance), will not be helpful to easing military tension in the Asia-Pacific region. This also acutely runs counter to the trend of the Far East. One should be reminded that such military powers as the Soviet Union and the PRC drastically reduced their armed forces in their respective regions, as well as their military activities. One should also be reminded that USSR-PRC talks are underway to provide new relations in the military domain.

Kaifu Welcomes Gorbachev Election to President

OW1703030290 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] We will now broadcast Japan's reactions to Mr. Gorbachev's election to president:

Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu stated to a group of reporters on 15 March that he welcomed Mr. Gorbachev's election as the first president, and his hopes that the new Soviet leader would play an important role in bringing about a genuine defusion of East-West tension and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

Touching further on bilateral relations, Prime Minister Kaifu pointed out two issues that must be resolved. One concerns the Northern Territories and the other the conclusion of a peace treaty. He said that Japan wants to promote relations of trust and neighborliness with the Soviet Union based on a balanced expansion of exchanges. Concerning Mr. Gorbachev's visit to Japan scheduled for 1991, he stressed the necessity of attaching historical significance to this visit.

In his congratulatory message sent to Mr. Gorbachev on the same day, Prime Minister Kaifu stated the following: The Japanese Government wishes success to perestroyka currently under way in the Soviet Union, and expects that with the election of the president, new prospects will be opened up for promoting Japanese-Soviet relations in greeting the 21st century. He also stated that Japan wants to establish a stabilized, bilateral relationship based on genuine mutual understanding and trust.

Foreign Minister Nakayama said in Tokyo that the Japanese Government sincerely welcomes Mr. Gorbachev's election as president. He added that although the introduction of the presidential system in the Soviet Union is based on the concept that a president with strong power is needed to further promote perestroyka, we regard it as an important choice made by the Soviet people in promoting political reform. He also stressed that the Japanese Government hopes that the new presidential leadership under Mr. Gorbachev will overcome economic difficulties and nationalities problems faced by the Soviet Union, and show its abilities in promoting democracy, freedom, and a market economy. Foreign Minister Nakayama stated that in the diplomatic field, the Japanese Government hopes that Mr. Gorbachev would use his strong leadership to strengthen peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, including large-scale improvement in Japanese-Soviet relations.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Sakamoto positively appraised the Soviet Union's introduction of the presidential system, and stated hopes that this would open up a new age in which the Japanese-Soviet relations would turn for the better. Speaking to journalists, he stated his hopes that Japanese-Soviet relations would become different in nature from the relations during the cold war, and that the friendship between the two nations would develop at a more rapid pace.

Secretary General Ozawa of the Liberal Democratic Party issued a statement on 15 March, in which he appraised Mr. Gorbachev's election to president as a very important historical event, and stated his hope that the event would have a favorable influence on Japanese-Soviet relations.

Quake in Sakhalinsk Oblast Causes Little Damage

LD1103062590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Here is a report from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. In the Northern Kurile islands, an earthquake registering four on the Richter scale occured over the holiday [8-9 March]. The underground storm on Shumshu Island lasted 40 seconds with individual tremors registering up to six and seven. The island of Paramushir was also affected. Its inhabitants felt the mark four earthquake for almost a minute. There are no casualities or significant destruction.

Pacific Fleet Commander Grants Interview

LD0603165690 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Interview with Pacific Fleet Commander Gennadiy Khvatov by Moscow Radio correspondent Aleksandr Yakovlev, date, place not given—Khvatov remarks recorded, in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] The reduction of the war thret is proceeding unevenly in different regions of the world. Whereas in Europe the process has acquired a certain dynamism, in the Asian and Pacific region no mechanism has been created so far for curbing the arms race. In the opinion fo the Soviet Pacific Fleet commander, Gennadiy Khvatov, the reason for that is largely found in the United states' reluctance to part with its dominant position. In his interview with a Radio Moscow correspondent, Aleksandr yakovlev, Gennadiy Khvatov said:

[Khvatov] The second largest grouping of the United States forces after Europe is deployed in the region. Together with Japan's Armed Forces they by far exceed the Soviet Armed Forces deloyed in the Far East: twofold manpower superiority, fourfold in the number of surface ships, absolute superiority in surface ships armed with cruise missiles of over 600 km range, more than double the number of tactical strike planes and naval aviation. The Soviet Union has superiority only in land forces: double the number of tanks and approximately 150 percent advantage in armored vehicles and artillery.

[Announcer] The situation in Asia and the Pacific is negatively influenced by the U.S. military and political integration process with Japan and South Korea, involving also the ASEAN countries. The Soviet side is also worried by itensive military preparations in a number of countries of the region. The Soviet Union has more than once proposed discussing at the negotiating table all the aspects of security in Asia and the Pacific and even decided to reduce unilaterally its Army and Navy in the est of the country. And now Gennadiy Khvatov again:

[Khvatov] The Soviet Union is going to reduce its Army and navy in the east by 200,000 men by next year. The remaining troops will have purely defensive function. The decision to pull 75 percent of Soviet forces out of Mongolia is already being implemented. The Soviet Pacific Fleet has been reduced by 57 warships in the past few years. The naval training there is also aimed at implementing the defensive military doctrine. The fleet's striking force is circumscribed by the need to repel a possible aggression.

[Announcer] Why aren't the naval activities in the West and in the East covered by the confidence-building measures?

[Khvatov] This country is actually trying to spread those measures to naval activities, to an exchange of information on the naval potential, on the notifying of large naval exercises or movements. Last year we invited to our Pacific Fleet maneuvers naval observers from a number of Pacific countries, including the United States. Regrettably, that goodwill gesture wasn't accepted by all of them. I think that problems over naval confidence-building measures arise in Wshington where they view positive development in this region as encroachment on the United States' naval superiority, particularly in the east.

[Announcer] The Soviet Union is given to the idea of withdrawing all foreign troops from other countries' territory by the midnineties and of scrapping all foreign bases by the year 2000.

[Khvatov] The withdrawal of the Soviet naval (?forces) from Cam Ranh, Vietnam, is part of that policy. That logistic support facility, by the way, can't be compared with the large American bases in the Philippines, in Subic Bay and Clark Field. Speaking of the United States' bases, there are over 350 various military facilities in the region. It's true, though, that the United States recently announced its intention to end its military activities within four years on 12 of those bases, and some of them in Asia. That's certainly a step forward, though not a very significant one judging by the fact that there'll still remain hundreds of bases there.

[Announcer] The Soviet Union and the United States have agreed in principle on exchanging visits of warships. The first such exchange will take place this coming summer. Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov finds that such visits will consolidate understanding between our nations without which the process of easing tensions and full normalization would be unthinkable.

[Khvatov] In the last years of the second World War the Soviet Union and the United States were allies, though later that mutual understanding was lost. Today we witness and take part in restoring that understanding in all fields, including the military sphere. Contact between the Soviet defense minister and the United States chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, exchanges of parliamentary delegations and cadets, visits by warships. All that is a proof of a deeper mutual understanding. I'd like to have that dialogue between our Pacific fleets continue.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Refusal To Cut Forces in Asia Criticized

HK1603093590 Manila Broadcasting Company DZRH in Tagalog 0800 GMT 16 Mar 90

[By Rey Arquiza]

[Text] The Soviet Embassy in Manila condemned the U.S. Government for its refusal to talk about cutting its military forces in the Asia-Pacific region, saying this is causing instability in the region. Ambassador Oleg Sokolov stated that the U.S. Government also refused to match the Soviet Union's reduction of military forces in the Far East, adding that the Soviet Union had already cut its military force in Vietnam which the U.S. has not matched. In an interview on the "Coast to Coast" show, Sokolov said the U.S. refusal to talk about the reduction of military forces in the Asia-Pacific region affects the region's security situation.

U.S. Government officials earlier said they cannot match the Soviet Union's reduction of its military forces because the Soviet Union is a land power while the U.S. is a naval power.

Research Agreement Signed With the Philippines

HK1703023990 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] An agreement for cooperation on tropical meteorology was signed by representatives from the Soviet Union and the Philippines in Manila recently. The agreement provides that scientists from the two countries will work jointly on research on tropical storms.

Philippine officials declared that the agreement was part of overall efforts to strengthen scientific links between the two countries.

Do Muoi Meets With Soviet Delegation Leader

BK1103044490 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] On 6 March at the Thong Nhat Conference Hall in Ho Chi Minh City, Comrade Do Muoi, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee Political Bureau and Council of Ministers chairman, received Comrade Vladimir Gusev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Council of Ministers deputy chairman, who led a Soviet delegation to the 15th conference of the Vietnam-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation.

Comrades Do Muoi and Gusev informed each other about the situation and current tasks of renovation and restructuring in each country. They exchanged views on key orientations aimed at developing and strengthening the results of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between both countries in the new stage.

Comrade Gusev expressed delight in seeing initial, yet very important achievements scored by Vietnam in the socioeconomic field after three years of implementing the Sixth CPV Congress resolution. He asserted the strong support of the Soviet party, government, and people for the Vietnamese people's cause of renovation and national reconstruction.

Comrade Do Muoi sincerely thanked the Soviet party, government, and people for their wholehearted support and great, valuable assistance to the Vietnamese people in national reconstruction. He wished the fraternal Soviet people, under the leadership of the CPSU, success in overcoming all difficulties and obstacles so as to successfully implement the restructuring undertaking to welcome the upcoming 28th CPSU Congress.

Comrades Do Muoi and Gusev affirmed the two nations' determination to develop and increase all-around Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation to suit the CPV line on renovation and the CPSU policy on restructuring, which are aimed at creating new strength for socialism in each nation, thereby contributing to the restoration of peace, security, and cooperation in Asia, the Pacific, and the world.

Radio Marks Anniversary of Soviet-Thai Relations

BK1303120390 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Article by station commentator dedicated to the 49th anniversary of Thai-Soviet diplomatic relations on 12 March]

[Text] It can be said that Soviet-Thai relations are undergoing positive changes. The most significant is the first visit to Thailand recently by a Soviet prime minister. Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's visit to Thailand was an outcome of general changes in world politics. The Soviet Union's new approach to international affairs has eased international tension. Progress has been made in U.S.-Soviet talks. There is also a likelihood of rapprochement between the Soviet Union and countries in Asia and the Pacific, including Thailand.

The talks in Bangkok between the Soviet Union and Thailand are another proof of the closeness of both countries in their views toward international issues, at both global and regional levels, including the Cambodian problem. Settlement of the Cambodian problem is entering a vital stage. Whether a solution can be achieved, and in which direction, will determine future politics in the region. The permanent members of the United Nations Security Council are doing a more important job in determining the role of the United Nations in the Cambodian issue. Constructive proposals have beer made aimed at speeding up settlement of the dispute. Yet, the Khmer Rouge has not abandoned the use of force. It is always behaving like a crocodile trying to block the way, thus preventing those initiatives from materializing. This includes the failure of the third informal meeting on Cambodia in Jakarta, or JIM 3, late last month. With this in mind, it is apparent that the common views adopted by the Thai and Soviet prime ministers are significant.

The two leaders agreed that there should be an immediate end to military operations in Cambodia. Talks must be held at all levels to seek a political solution to the Cambodian problem. There should be a measure to prevent the revival of the Khmer Rouge government, in whatever disguise. The Thai and Soviet sides believe that, with an end to disputes or confrontations of any kind, cooperation among countries in the region will be strengthened on the principle of good neighborliness.

Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and Thai Prime Minister General Chatchai Chunhawan noted that economic relations between the two countries have not been developed to full potential and therefore expressed a special interest in finding ways to correct this situation. Both sides signed a plan to implement the agreements on scientific and technical cooperation and establish a joint committee on scientific and technological cooperation. There has been a proposal for a direct trade links between Soviet and Thai commercial firms.

It can be anticipated that the visit will be an impetus for future contacts, encourage more activities, and bring more results in cooperation between the business sectors of both countries. A factor contributing to such a prospect is also the strong trend toward economic and social reforms in the Soviet Union. Certainly there is more to be discussed between the two countries on political and economic matters to achieve concrete agreements for cooperation. There are still efforts to be made to achieve a better understanding. What counts at present is that political discussions will certainly contribute to promoting an atmosphere of mutual trust and good-neighborliness in relations between the Soviet Union and Thailand.

USSR Shows Support for ASEAN Peace Efforts

OW1403031190 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Dear listeners: 14 years ago, on 23 and 24 February, 1976, the first meeting between leaders of ASEAN countries was held on the island of Bali in Indonesia. Here is an article by our observer Barsov:

The Bali summit was held nine years after the establishment of ASEAN, which was formed at the Bangkok meeting attended by foreign ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines. The meeting was held after the failure of the U.S. effort in Indochina which led to a fundamental change in the situation of the region.

Western propaganda organs tried to gain advantage in Southeast Asia by using the domino theory. They used the victory of Indonesian patriots to threaten ASEAN countries. According to the domino theory, the fall of the Saigon government would lead to the fall of ruling regimes in Thailand or Malaysia, and then other Southeast Asian countries. The U.S. tried to impose a closed military and political status on ASEAN.

However, this attempt was foiled. The participants in the Bali meeting adopted a resolution and made ASEAN a political organization. They enlarged the sphere of cooperation which was formerly limited to only economic, social, and cultural aspects.

In the documents of this meeting, a very important factor was emphasized. The participants of the meeting were loyal to their advocacy of changing Southeast Asia into a peaceful, free, and neutral area.

The Bali statement also stressed that ASEAN countries will, unilaterally or jointly, create conditions for peace and cooperation in the area on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

In the past 14 years, there have been major and active changes in the international situation. These changes have shown that it is groundless to fear the so-called aggressiveness of Vietnam and the domino theory.

Countries in ASEAN and Indochina continue to cooperate in seeking fair and effective ways to solve the Cambodian issue to establish a lasting peace in Southeast Asia. The constructive and peace-loving principle of ASEAN wins the understanding and high-degree appraisal of the USSR. This principle is an important part of common efforts to ensure reliable security in the Asia-Pacific area.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev, Indian Prime Minister Confer by Phone

LD1703123490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1132 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 17 Mar (TASS)—Today a report has been circulated here that Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the Indian prime minister, phoned M.S. Gorbachev and congratulated him on his election to the post of USSR president. He wished him and the Soviet people success in solving the tasks of perestroyka, the significance of which is also immense for the whole world.

A short, friendly conversation took place. Both sides appraised relations between the two countries highly. M.S. Gorbachev confirmed that links and cooperation with India and with its great people remain one of the main priorities of the Soviet Union's international policy. The Indian prime minister can proceed in future from this.

They agreed to continue the Soviet-Indian dialogue at the highest level in various forms, which have already arisen, including personal contacts.

Gerasimov Regrets Fire in Libyan Factory

JN1703193690 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 16 Mar 90 p 21

[Text] Moscow—Gennadiy Gerasimov, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, expressed his country's deep regret yesterday for the fire in Libya's Al-Rabitah pharmaceutical factory.

In a telephone conversastion with the AL-ITTIHAD bureau in Moscow, the Soviet official said that the Soviet Union has no official information about the causes of the fire in the factory and that "all we know is that there were no human losses."

He also said that his country had denounced U.S. threats against Libya and added that when more information about the fire accident is available, the Soviet Union will certainly announce its official position.

Afghanistan Officials Demand Tanay's Extradition

LD1603211490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] A TASS correspondent has just reported the following piece of information from Kabul. The Afghan authorities have demanded that Islamabad extradite the participants in the latest revolt in Kabul, who fled to Pakistan. The government demanded that the culprits be extradited in order to hand them over to the legal prosecution, and also that the two aircraft and two helicopters, which were stolen by the conspirators, be returned. In addition, Shahnawaz Tanay and Niaz Mohammad Mohmand, the leaders of the revolt who fled, took a significant sum of money from the state treasury.

Pakistani Involvement in Coup Attempt Viewed

TA1303191790 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Askold Biryukov commentary from "The World Today" program]

[Text] The topic of the abortive military coup in Afghanistan still highly interests the news media. In various articles, the press assesses the actions of Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan [RA], who in a difficult situation has displayed maturity, experience, and truly proper restraint and coolness as head of state. These assessments are noteworthy. The series of appropriate actions and measures adopted by the RA Government not only made it possible to crush the coup attempt rapidly, but prevented the delivery of means of assistance by armed opposition groups, headed by Hekmatyar's group, with whom the conspirators had colluded. The news media are also drawing attention to the fact that foreign powers were secretly behind the recent plot. These powers have not stopped their interference in the internal affairs of the RA; rather, they are trying to increase it. For example, THE TIMES of London has affirmed that Pakistani authorities actively supported those involved in the coup attempt in Afghanistan. Despite this, Islamabad's representatives are trying to claim that they were not involved in the recent events in a neighboring country.

This newspaper then wrote that there is evidence that certain elements in the Pakistani Army are trying to exert pressure on Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto with the aim of increasing military aid to the Afghan extremists. In its latest note to the UN good offices mission in Kabul, the RA Foreign Ministry noted that on the basis of irrefutable information in the hands of the RA Government, Pakistan's military intelligence agency was the organizer and mentor of the Tanay-Hekmatyar rebellion. This intelligence agency also provided asylum in Pakistan to the main participants in the rebellion, who fled there after their failure.

On the basis of reports by the London-based DAILY TELEGRAPH, Tanay, the leader of the participants in the abortive coup, took refuge in the (Artuk) military base in Punjab Province after escaping from Afghanistan. At the same time, Tamdir Ahmad Khan, Pakistan's first deputy foreign minister, claimed that all the leaders of the Afghan armed opposition groups supported those who took part in the rebellion, and that although the coup attempt failed, those involved in it can jointly regroup their forces for new actions.

These remarks drew the attention of political observers, and are no more than a semicovert attempt calling for the acceleration of measures by the armed opposition aimed at fratricide. It is also noteworthy that this time the allegations of Pakistan's official representative were immediately denied by the information service of the so-called Afghan opposition interim government. The Afghan armed opposition wanted to distance itself from the alleged communist Tanay as well as Hekmatyar, for he had said some time ago that he intended to form a government that included opposition representatives and participants in the rebellion in the event the coup succeeded. They perceived in this statement a danger to their malicious plans and intentions.

The current coup attempt, to which possibly some people in Pakistan had also pinned a great deal of hope, met with defeat just as did the attempted offensive by the armed opposition against Jalalabad, over which an uproar was created in Islamabad and which ended in a fiasco. Regrettably, this time, too, civilians were the victim of their conspiracies and seditions. But such a situation has probably not evoked the concern of the organizers and inciters of the war in Afghanistan, nor is it causing them apprehension. They are continuing to entertain new plans aimed at expanding bloodshed in this country. It can be easily surmised what the outcome of such attempts will be for Afghanistan, the region, and the situation all over the world.

Bagram Airfield Operating in Service of Kabul

PM1603124190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik dispatch: "At Bagram Air Base"]

[Text] Bagram—Bagram Air Base. The name of this garrison, located 57 km north of Kabul, is frequently being mentioned in the mass media today in connection with the failed putsch by the former defense minister of the Republic of Afghanistan. VOA recently claimed that even now "the whole of Bagram Garrison is on Tanay's side." This piece of "news" has now been repeated by other radio voices for several days in a row. What is the real situation?

It is still a complex matter to get to Bagram Air Base. Nevertheless, your correspondent managed to visit the air base together with APN correspondent A. Pravovoy. It does, of course, look awful. The control tower and many flight lines were destroyed, and exploding missiles and aerial bombs have upended slabs of concrete from the airfield's runway. The skeletons of burned-out aircraft show black, and there are missile and shell fragments all over the place...

"We have already removed a great deal from the airfield," Major General Sanatullah, chief of the air garrison, said. "Repair work is in full swing. Despite malicious claims by enemies, the whole of Bagram Garrison is still on President Najibullah's side. Moreover, the flight intensity has increased significantly over the past few days. Our pilots are making four or five combat sorties a day..."

And yet, why did Bagram's pilots yield to the vile provocation on 6 March?

"It was approximately 1000 hours on 6 March when Shahnawaz Tanai came into our garrison headquarters with a reinforced guard," Maj. Gen. Sanatullah said. "With him were Muhammad Muhmand, former member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee Politburo; Qader Aqa, former commander in chief of the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces; and a number of other commanders. The minister ordered that the garrison's entire command personnel be urgently assembled. When everyone had gathered, he began saying that the decisive hour of the struggle against the people's enemies had come, that none other than the country's president was going through the motions of appealing for reconciliation while actually continuing the bloodshed, and that an end had to be put to him. We were astounded, and many of us did not at once realize that it was a question of a military coup. Those who tried to protest, including myself and Colonel Sarwar, chief of the political department, were at once led away under escort to the headquarters basement. The commander of the Afghan Army's Air Force, who was in the garrison, had been arrested even earlier.

"Shahnawaz personally issued the order to the pilots headed by Maj. Gen. Wahib, regimental commander, to carry out a bombing and strafing attack on Kabul and the president's residence. Commander in Chief Qader Aqa and Maj. Gen. Hamza, Air Force chief of staff, assigned specific targets to the pilots. It was planned, above all, to destroy the presidential palace, the Ministry of State Security, and the building of the radio and television center.

"The overwhelming majority of the pilots did not carry out the order, although they did take off with a full basic load of ammunition. Some dropped their bombs away from Kabul, and some contrived before takeoff to engage the safety device on the aerial bombs, and they did not explode. Several pilots did not release any bombs at all but landed at the airfields of Kabul and Konduz. Thirty-four aerial bombs did explode in the capital, but none of them scored a direct hit on a target."

We walked about the airfield with Col. Sarwar, chief of Bagram Air Base Political Department.

"As far as I can judge," he said, "aircraft suffered the greatest losses in the revolt. Ten aircraft were completely destroyed, and a further 30 are in need of capital repair. But, despite these losses, our pilots are continuing combat flights."

...As we were leaving the air base, aircraft with ringed red stars on their wings—the identification marks of the Afghan Air Force—were following each other onto the runway. Pilots headed by Maj. Gen. Iskhak [name as transliterated], garrison chief of staff, were flying off on a routine combat mission. Bagram Air Base is functioning and fighting on the side of the government troops.

'Strategic Consensus' on Afghanistan Criticized

90UI0429A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Mar 90 p 3

[Report by N. Khinov: "Under the Cover of Military Secrecy"]

[Text] The truism that everything secret eventually becomes known is confirmed by the well-informed Hong Kong journal, FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW. As early as 23 February 1989 it reported that the Pakistani generals had already for a long time been pressing the idea of creating in Southeast Asia a "strategic consensus" which would give Islamabad the opportunity to take "full control of the future government in Kabul" and which on the whole would strengthen Pakistan's military and political positions in that country. The Pakistani generals also determined the composition of the new Muslim alliance: Pakistan, of course, "free Afghanistan," Iran, and, possibly, Turkey.

It was necessary to traverse a long and difficult path to reach the Geneva agreements, but in the offices of the

Pakistani special services the fate of the Afghan people was being essentially decided without their knowledge or consent.

It was at this time, when the Geneva documents were being prepared, that the leadership of Pakistani interdepartmental intelligence submitted for the approval of the country's president at that time, Zia ul-Haq, a special report on the Afghan question which presented recommendations concerning the practical realization of the idea of creating a "regional consensus."

The report, which was signed by the director of Pakistani intelligence, Hamid Gul [name as published], became the property of the international community. There were also reports of Pakistan's dangerous designs in the Indian press, the newspapers of a number of Near Eastern states, and the Afghan KABUL TIMES.

Under the cover of military secrecy they intended to take advantage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in order to ensure a complete military victory of the mujahidin and the formation of the "Islamic government of free Afghanistan." Since, as the TIMES OF INDIA noted, the aggressive circles of Pakistan have always had the idea of pan-Islamism at the basis of their policy, the establishment of a pro-Muslim, pro-Pakistan regime in Afghanistan was a decisive condition for welding the new strategic alliance together. Initially they had in mind creating a Pakistani-Afghan confederation, let us note in passing, on the initiative of "free Afghanistan" and then gradually drawing Iran and Turkey into this plan.

The foreign press draws attention to the fact that the dangerous and provoking designs of Islamabad are essentially supported by the Washington administration. The "National Security Directive" signed by President G. Bush on 13 February 1989 concerning the continuation of military and financial aid to the recalcitrant Afghan opposition remains in effect until the Najibullah government is overthrown. The ASSOCIATED PRESS recently confirmed that in this case the word of the White House does not diverge from its actions—last year American allocations for deliveries of arms to the mujahidin exceeded $900 million.

The "transition government" of Afghanistan formed on the territory of Pakistan after Geneva and made up of leaders of the "alliance of seven" conducted large-scale military activities against government troops for almost a year, trying to take over the vitally important centers of the republic. The "fighters for faith and freedom of Afghanistan," as the mujahidin called themselves, even after the Geneva agreements, directed about four million foreign-produced missiles, charges, and mines against their own country and people. As a result of the firing about 3,000 peaceful residents were killed and more than 5,000 were injured.

Counting on the "inevitable fall" of the government of Afghanistan "within a month after the withdrawal of Soviet troops," to which the Pakistani-Afghan confederation linked the realization of its ideas, turned out to be unrealistic. The Kabul administration managed not only to hold its own militarily but also to bolster its prestige and authority both within the country and abroad.

As concerns the irreconcilable opposition and the "transition government," one can confirm only the moral and political disorder and the "fighters'" deepening mistrust of the possibility of achieving their goals with arms with the support of Pakistani and American patrons.

Incidentally, the disenchantment with the chosen strategy for resolving the Afghan conflict, judging from everything, is increasing among more than just the irreconcilable opposition. According to a report in the WASHINGTON POST of 11 January 1990, the U.S. Administration is leaning toward making an adjustment to its policy on this question. And, in the opinion of the newspaper, this could lead to halting the delivery of American arms to the mujahidin and to more actively enlisting the United Nations in the regulation of the conflict.

Relying on resolving the Afghan problem through force and the implementation of secret plans to create a Muslim "confederation" or "consensus" is clearly bankrupt. They must immediately halt the bloodletting and search for reasonable paths to regulation on the basis of broad national reconciliation.

Azerbaijan Official on Iran Border Crossings

LD1203225290 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Baku March 12 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Boris Vlasov:

Residents of the Soviet Azerbaijani districts bordering on Iran have been eager to embrace the opportunity to cross over to the Iranian side with fewer formalities, in accordance with Soviet- Iranian intergovernmental agreements, Azerbaijan's Foreign Minister Gussseynnagi Musa ogly Sadykhov said in an interview with TASS.

The memoranda on terms for mutual trips by citizens and the simplification of the procedure for crossing the border by residents of the border districts, signed in Teheran recently, will reduce the tension in the region, according to the minister. He recalled that during ethnic unrest in Azerbaijan in January, crowds of people crossed the border both ways. Protesters demanded simplifying the rules in the border areas.

The first memorandum was intended to facilitate communication between Soviet and Iranian citizens, not only between relatives but also between friends and acquaintances. Citizens of the Soviet Union and Iran are now issued visas allowing them to visit with the opposite side for two months, provided they have an invitation. Earlier people had to wait for months to obtain an exit visa. Now a ten-day term has been established, which can be reduced to three days in an emergency—to visit a sick person or attend the funeral of a relative.

The second memorandum grants residents of border districts the right to cross the border carrying their national passports with a required insert. People are allowed to cross the border on foot or in individual transport at specially designated crossing points. Each side is obliged to build adequate approach routes and facilities for border guards, customs officials and other required services to ensure the normal operation of checkpoints.

Most of the required work has been accomplished, the minister noted. In Negram and Julfa, people refused to await the completion of construction. Local residents joined forces with border guards to clear space, erect barriers and bring in wagons in order to facilitate immediate lawful crossing of the border for themselves and their foreign guests.

Aeroflot Mideast Offices Reportedly Threatened

JN2002105090 Amman AKHIR KHABAR in Arabic 19 Feb 90 p 6 (Tentative)

[Unattributed "exclusive" report]

[Text] Amman—Reliable sources told AKHIR KHABAR that the Soviet airline company "Aeroflot" offices in the region received threatening letters over the past week. The sources said the letters, whose senders names were not revealed, warned the airline company that failure to stop the Soviet Jewish emigration to the occupied Palestinian territory means that "Aeroflot" planes in the region and its offices the world over will be exposed to endless bomb attacks.

The sources added that the "Aeroflot" offices informed the security organs in the region, including Amman, of these threats. Moscow has also been informed, prompting it to dispatch KGB experts to the region's capitals to ascertain the seriousness of the issue.

While tending not to take this matter seriously, observers have given it much thought, contending that this is the first time the Soviets have faced a terrorist threat in the Middle East after many years during which the Soviet Union acted as an intermediary [wasitan] in terrorist operations targeted against Western nations and originating in the Arab-Israeli arena of struggle.

Our political affairs editor says times have changed and whoever plays with the fire of the [Palestinian] cause will have his fingers burned. It was the Americans, now the Soviets, and God knows who is next.

Groups Reportedly Join Soviet Jews, Flee Country

JN1703191490 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I in Arabic 15 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] AL-ITTIHAD has learned that a large number of Soviet citizens have fled the country by embracing Judaism and joining tens of thousands of Soviet Jews who have left the Soviet Union in the past few months.

An informed source in Rabat told AL-ITTIHAD that these groups obtained exit visas to occupied Palestine. But after their arrival in Athens, they refused to go on to Palestine and sought political asylum in Greece. Others registered as refugees at Greek residence and emigration offices in order to obtain special UN documents enabling them to emigrate to any other country. The source said that the PLO has obtained documents on this subject.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Shevardnadze Begins Tour of African Countries

Cited on 'Expectations'

LD1703180990 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, will be attending a ceremony proclaiming Namibia's independence as part of his African tour due to start on Sunday. He is also to visit Angola, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The tour of the continent is the first of its kind by a head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. What does the minister expect from the coming visit?

The minister said it was early yet to speak of any expectations and that the main reason for his visit was to attend ceremonies proclaiming Namibia's independence. Since foreign ministers of other countries are expected to take part, including those of the Frontline States and the Security Council members, he said he would like to get the feel of the general atmosphere by meeting as many leaders as he possibly could. He said he believed there was a prospect for peace in Angola, but through national reconciliation. In principle, he said, the United States and a number of other countries held similar views. African countries also have some ideas about Angolan peace. The minister said he wanted the sides to get a better insight into the general atmosphere and to engage in an open dialogue to get their bearings.

On Mozambique the minister described as a thing of the past the previous Soviet policy of sending weapons and military advisers to that country. He said bilateral relations must now be based on different principles that are still to be defined. He said he hoped that could be done. The minister said attention should be also given to other countries.

Asked to what extent the current changes in the continent were likely to tell on his visit, Eduard Shevardnadze said it would make his visit to the continent all the more interesting and pointed to a dramatic change in South Africa that no one could have predicted a year ago.

TASS Previews Visit

LD1803041690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 17 Mar 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Mar (TASS)—The three-day visit of Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, to a number of African countries will start tomorrow. The minister will take part in the festivities on the occasion of the declaration of Namibia's independence on 21 March, which, undoubtedly, will become the highlight of his trip. He will also make short working visits to Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Nigeria.

What are the aims of the trip, the first visit by the leader of the USSR Foreign Policy Directorate to tropical Africa? What factors have determined its timing?

Above all it should be said that issues on relations with African states always occupies a worthy place in the foreign policy programs of the Soviet Union, in accordance with the role of those countries in the life of the world community and in solving regional and global problems. The Soviet Union maintains friendly links with the overwhelming majority of states on the African continent. This concerns, as the minister puts it, the countries with which dialogue is enlivening.

The perestroyka that is under way in the USSR now and the changes in the sphere of [words indistinct] new thinking determine new criteria in the interrelations of the Soviet Union and African states, as well as Third World countries on the whole. The entire practice of Soviet cooperation with developing states is undergoing vital changes. Aid must be effective and the partnership must be mutually beneficial, and that asks for new forms of cooperation.

Meetings with leaders and discussion on bilateral ties as well as cooperation in the international arena, are planned in every country the minister of the USSR foreign affairs is to visit. They will focus on solving the conflict situations in Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia; attitudes to changes in southern Africa; and the normalization of East-West mutual relations, which, it is absolutely evident, meets the interests of the developing world.

The USSR minister of foreign affairs' visit to the countries of Africa, which starts tomorrow, marks a new stage in the development of friendly ties and cooperation between the Soviet and African peoples.

Shevardnadze Grants Interview

PM1703200590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze by unnamed APN correspondent: "Journey South of the Sahara"; date, place not specified]

[Text] [Correspondent] In recent months our foreign policy has focused on mainly European problems and questions of Soviet-American relations. Now, suddenly, your visit to Africa has been announced—moreover a relatively long tour lasting nine days. What was the reason for this decision?

[Shevardnadze] A visit to countries on the African Continent has been planned for a long time. We have been constantly aware of the need for this, recognizing Africa's great importance and the African states' role and place in the world community, in the Nonaligned Movement, and in the resolution of a whole series of major global and regional problems. The Soviet Union has long-standing friendly relations with many African states, and yet the USSR foreign minister has never visited those countries.

On 21 March the proclamation of Namibian independence will close the last page in Africa's colonial history. That action crowns the African peoples' anticolonial struggle, in which they have invariably been able to rely on our country's sympathy, solidarity, and support. In Namibia we have had many years of close contacts with the South West Africa People's Organization, which has come to power as a result of elections held with UN assistance. It should be stressed generally that Namibia's freedom is not only the fruit of its people's heroic efforts but also the result of international collaboration based on the new political thinking, and it is convincing evidence of the increased effectiveness of the United Nations. In short, the scale of events is such that the Soviet Union absolutely must be represented at the appropriate level at the Windhoek celebrations.

The UN secretary general will be going to Windhoek, and high-ranking representatives of many countries, including my colleagues from a number of European states and from the United States, will be gathering there. As usual on such occasions, we can expect intensive diplomatic contacts, including contacts on topics outside the framework of the African continent. All the forthcoming celebrations and numerous meetings in Namibia will be happening within an extremely short timeframe, since we will be spending less than two days there.

For the remaining seven days we plan visit to six other countries—Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Nigeria. We would like to compare our appraisals of key contemporary problems and our approaches to their resolution with the leaders of these states, to discuss the rapidly changing situation in the southern African region, and to examine prospects for developing bilateral relations.

[Correspondent] How have perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the policy of de-ideologizing interstate relations influenced Soviet-African links? How do you appraise the state of those links as of today, particularly the USSR's relations with countries in the south of the continent?

[Shevardnadze] When 17 former African colonies acquired freedom and the status of independent states all at once in 1960, the Soviet Union welcomed and supported the process of the continent's decolonization and established friendly relations with a whole series of countries. But at the same time those relations betrayed a strong ideological aspect and a desire to "pigeonhole" everything and everybody according to a theoretical plan. The reality, however, proved more complex than adopted formulas.

When we eventually recognized this fact, we started to overcome the steroetyped ideological absolutes and to assert new criteria in relations with African states, valuing the traditional confidences but avoiding the dogmatic cliches and vocabulary—which, of course, had not helped in resolving one another's specific problems.

The priority given to common human values and the principles of the new thinking are helping to build relations of equal rights with no superfluous overlays. Such an approach cannot be produced right away, because it touches some people's feelings and customs, but it is the only approach that can be really productive. And we can already sense how much easier and more effective our dealings have become. The fact that we are not now trying to act as mentors and do not consider ourselves blessed with absolute truth is also, I believe, a contributory factor here.

A good climate persists in relations with all the countries traditionally close to the USSR—Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, the Congo, Guinea, Mali, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and others. Some expansion of our foreign policy "horizons" is taking place: Dialogue has been activated with such countries as Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and certain others.

The countries of southern Africa are called "Frontline." For many years they have been on the forward line of the struggle against the apartheid system. Under these conditions we have formed relations with the Governments of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Botswana based on solidarity and active collaboration for the purpose of securing peace in the region. We intend to maintain these special relations in the future.

The main event in southern Africa today is the emergence of a new state. In cordially congratulating the Namibian people on the realization of their long-held dream and paying tribute to their unbending will and striving for freedom, I want to say that the Soviet Union is ready to establish diplomatic relations and to develop extensive, mutually advantageous cooperation with Namibia.

[Correspondent] The Namibian independence proclamation is an example of the successful political settlement of a regional conflict. What is the USSR's attitude to the conflict situations in Angola and Mozambique? What is Soviet diplomacy doing toward settling them, and also toward settling the conflict in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa region?

[Shevardnadze] The Namibian experience really has shown vividly that the most complex problems must and can be successfully resolved by political means if the efforts of the sides involved and the world community are united in a common purpose and freed of attempts to obstruct the choice made by the people of a particular country. We hoped for rapid progress in an Angola settlement with the achievment of the Gbadolite understandings last June. Unfortunately, the subsequent actions of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola essentially blocked the Gbadolite initiative.

We are convinced that there is no alternative to a political settlement and national reconciliation in Angola. A cease-fire and a shift to negotiations is the only path to peace. Moreover the Angolans themselves must elaborate a formula for national accord around the negotiating table.

And, what is more, the neighboring states and others sincerely interested in the normalization of the Angola situation can help them to reach that point and to create the necessary atmosphere for talks. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we are working actively for that.

A tense situation persists in Mozambique, too. Despite the Mozambican leadership's readiness for political solutions, the armed opposition avoids direct dialogue and continues its subversive actions. We consider the negotiation platform put forward by Mozambican President J. Chissano realistic. It is now up to the opposition leaders to respond.

The dramatic development of events in Ethiopia is being exacerbated by the threat of famine in the north of the country, where combat operations are showing no letup. The other day I had a thorough discussion on these questions with Ethiopian Foreign Minister Dinka Tesfaye. I can say that our assessments of potential ways of reaching a political settlement of the Eritrean problem coincided on the whole.

We consider that a mutual cease-fire in Eritrea would greatly ease the search for compromises to end this protracted, bloody conflict. We are ready to respect any decisions to which the sides in this conflict come. It should, however, be borne in mind that virtually all members of the world community, including the Soviet Union, advocate the unconditional maintenance of Ethiopia's territorial integrity.

A settlement of internal problems in Ethiopia, just as in neighboring Sudan and Somalia, would help improve the situation in the Horn of Africa as a whole. The normalization of relations among the countries of the region can be achieved only on the basis of strict observance of the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs. The Soviet Union is ready for its part to foster such a development of the situation in the Horn of Africa.

[Correspondent] Much has been said of late about a possible change in the Soviet stance on South Africa. What can you say on this score?

[Shevardnadze] The events of recent months confirm that a movement toward dismantling apartheid and establishing dialogue among all the country's political forces has begun in South Africa. We have responded positively to the De Klerk government's decision to lift the ban on the activity of opposition organizations. The release of Nelson Mandela and a number of other political prisoners may be seen as a victory for reason. Of course, this all became possible in many regards thanks to the pressure exerted by the broad democratic movement in South Africa itself and the resolute stance adopted by the world community.

However, it is too early to talk of this process being irreversible. The system of apartheid, condemned by mankind, is still alive. We therefore support the view that it is advisable to keep up international pressure on Pretoria. However, we do on the whole welcome the process of changes in South Africa and are ready to assist constructively, including on a multilateral basis, the process of that country's transition to democracy.

[Correspondent] What can you say about the claims that the Soviet Union is neglecting its ties with African states for the sake of rapprochement with the United States and West Europe?

[Shevardnadze] The modern world does not consist of several mutually exclusive entities (West, East, North, South, and so forth) but forms an integrated whole. "Rapprochement" between the Soviet Union and West Europe and the United States does not signify our "moving away" from the developing world, from Africa. We are not "withdrawing" anywhere geographically, politically, or spiritually; while remaining true to ourselves we are pursuing an independently chosen line of evolution.

Of course, in overcoming the legacy of the cold war, which poisoned international relations, and of confrontation the USSR is collaborating chiefly with the countries of the West. That is only logical, and needs no explanation. But that does not require us to renounce our good relations with Third World states. Loyalty to commitments and decency are fundamental concepts for us.

The normalization of East-West relations and the overcoming of political and military confrontation between them are by the strictest yardsticks undoubtedly in the interests of developing countries. If East-West confrontation were maintained, it would be impossible to count on the genuinely worldwide efforts which are so acutely necessary in the search for a solution to the grave economic crisis in which many African countries find themselves on the threshold of the third millenium and which—in the absence of concerted action—threatens to turn into a catastrophe of global significance.

As far as our contribution to solving this very major problem is concerned, it is now seen by us in a new light. The whole practice of our cooperation with the Third World is being revised from the standpoint of abandoning its ideological subtext [zadannost]. Partnership should be mutually beneficial and assistance effective. That is an axiom of contemporary world economic ties. The future belongs to new, progressive forms of cooperation.

Arrival Noted in Angola

LD1803182490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Luanda, 18 Mar (TASS)—E.A.Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived in the capital of the People's Republic of Angola on a working visit today. Luanda is the first stop on his trip to a number of African countries.

At the "4th February" International Airport E.A.Shevardnadze was met by Pedro de Castro van Dunem, member of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]—Party of Labor Central Committee Political Bureau and foreign minister of the People's Republic of Angola, and by other officials. Among those meeting him was USSR Ambassador to Angola V.N.Kazimirov.

U.S. Aid to UNITA Criticized

LD1803213390 Moscow TASS in English 2122 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Luanda March 18 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived in the Angolan capital on a working visit on Sunday, opening a tour of several African countries.

At Luanda's international airport, Shevardnadze answered reporters' questions.

Speaking about the Soviet Union's stand on the conflict in Angola, he said the Angolan leaders had worked out a constuctive programme which was supported by the people of Angola and other countries.

Shevardnadze said this programme "is a variant of the African solution of the problem. It is very important that its major element is a national reconciliation policy.

"We regret that the programme was not implemented. I am deeply convinced that there is no military solution to the problem and that only a political solution is possible, and we do not doubt that it will be found."

Answering a question about the Soviet Union's attitude to the American aid to the Angolan opposition group UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], Shevardnadze said the United States military, material support to UNITA "does not promote the implementation of the national reconciliation policy.

"The day after tomorrow, at the ceremony of the proclamation of Namibia's independence, I will meet U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and I think we will thoroughly discuss this issue."

Asked about the Soviet Union's contribution to the Angolan settlement, the Soviet foreign minister said: "We are having constant consultations with the United States, with African countries, with our Angolan friends. Earlier, we conducted negotiations on this problem with our Cuban friends."

The minister emphasised that the national reconciliation policy "is a difficult but the most realistic way to peace in Angola."

In conclusion, Shevardnadze conveyed cordial greetings from the Soviet people, the Soviet leadership and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the Angolan people.

"This is the first visit by a Soviet foreign minister to Angola and I have no doubt that it will be efficient," he said.

Meeting With Angolan Foreign Minister

LD1903052390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0015 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Luanda, 19 Mar (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR minister of foreign affairs, who is here on a working vist, met P. de Castro van Dunem, member of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—Party of Labor Central Committee Political Bureau and minister of foreign affairs of Angola, on Sunday evening.

Commenting on the results of the meeting to TASS correspondents, the Soviet minister stated that the conversation was detailed. In the course of the meeting the Angolan friends took an interest in the state of affairs in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, said Shevardnadze. "I gave them an objective account of events occuring there and received very important information about the situation in Angola, the prospects for a peaceful settlement, and the implementation of a national reconciliation policy," he noted.

A serious conversation took place on the need to improve the effectiveness of Soviet-Angolan economic and scientific and technical cooperation, to "bring it up to date" and to impart a mutually advantageous nature to it, Shevardnadze stressed.

Dinner Speeches Delivered

LD1903093690 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Luanda March 19 TASS—On behalf of the leadership of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA), Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, Angolan foreign minister and member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Workers' Party, today held gave [as received] a dinner in honour of his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze, who is currently here on a working visit.

In a speech at the dinner the Angolan minister emphasised that the PRA attaches special importance to the Soviet foreign minister's first visit to Angola and to Africa south of Sahara. Shevardnadze's visit reaffirms the close ties of friendship and solidarity between the Angolan and Soviet peoples.

De Castro van Dunem expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for its invaluable contribution to the Angolan people's struggle for national independence and their defence of the republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Having launched perestroyka, the USSR now heads the work for humane, democratic socialism and for building a common European home, he said.

Speaking about the military and political situation in Angola, De Castro Van Dunem pointed out that UNITA, with U.S. support, stepped up terrorist activities in the country.

The Angolan government, he said, is urging the U.S. administration to take a neutral position with regard to the internal conflict in Angola and to stop interfering in its affairs. The Angolan leadership is ready for a direct dialogue with UNITA in order to end the war and focus efforts on national reconstruction.

The Angolan minister called for deepening Soviet-Angolan economic cooperation. He greatly appreciated the reforms being effected in the Soviet Union within the framework of perestroyka. These reforms, he said, will undoubtedly be crowned with success.

In a reply speech Shevardnadze said: "Having arrived in the land of Angola today for the first time I feel the direct connection between our two countries and peoples and the words that have been said here have strengthened this feeling."

"Angola and the Soviet Union are brought together by the common ideals of peace, freedom, democracy and social progress," he said.

"This visit is to reaffirm our commitment to these ideals as well as our two countries' desire to develop friendship and cooperation," he added.

"We know from our own experience that it is not easy to build a new way of life and are well aware of the importance of efforts being made by the MPLA-workers' party and the Angolan state to strengthen national unity, develop democracy and implement an extensive programme for financial and economic recovery.

"We are well aware that the goals that have been set can only be achieved under conditions of peace and fruitful economic cooperation," Shevardnadze said.

"We cannot but be gratified with the qualitative breakthrough in efforts to bring about a settlement of the situation in south western Africa, the breakthrough achieved as a result of active cooperation between the Soviet Union and Angola, as well as Cuba, the United States and South Africa.

"As a result of agreements to this effect signed in New York in 1988, the way was opened to decolonize Namibia and favourable prerequisites were created for the external security of Angola.

"The Soviet Union firmly supports the Angolan Government's consistent course towards establishing peace in the country," Shevardnadze said.

He voiced hope that the new situation taking shape in the region would help the Angolan people resolve their internal problems by political means.

Shevardnadze stated the Soviet Union's readiness to refine cooperation with Angola to make it more mutually beneficial.

Shevardnadze invited Pedro De Castro Van Dunem to visit the Soviet Union. "Our meetings and talks, frank and comradely as usual, are serving to strengthen traditional friendly relations between the two countries," he emphasised.

Borodin-Led Delegation Visits Mozambique

LD0603162390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0825 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Maputo, 6 Mar (TASS)—Marcelino dos Santos, chairman of the Mozambique People's Assembly, has expressed gratitude for the aid the Soviet Union has been giving to the Mozambique people. On 5 March he received the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Yu I. Borodin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet committee for public health, which is here on an official visit.

The Soviet Union has always played an enormous role in supporting national liberation movements, as in Mozambique, noted M. dos Santos. We support further developing Mozambique-Soviet relations, as well as strengthening cooperation on the international arena in the interests of peace and international security.

On the Same day the delegation was received by Pascoal Mocumbi, Mozambique's foreign minister. The prsent international situation is characterized by a weakening of tension, he said. This is creating conditions for solving southern African problems as well. The changes going on in the Republic of South Africa do not mean that we can rest on our laurels; the people of the region will have to go along a difficult path to peace and stability.

The Mozambique foreign minister highly assessed the state of Soviet-Mozambique cooperation.

South Africa Criticized on Nkomati Accord

MB1803085490 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Georgiy Gerogyan) commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] On 15 March we mark the six years since the signing of the Nkomati Accord between Mozambique and South Africa. In all these years, however, South Africa has shown no interest in honoring the agreement and has continued to support and arm the Mozambican Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebel movement. It is difficult to believe that a powerful nation like South Africa [words indistinct] in Mozambique concerning the agreement signed between the two nations six years ago.

Reports from the Mozambican press agency and other international agencies indicate that the South African leadership was well aware that Renamo continued to violate the terms of agreement between the two nations. One can only hope that South Africa will soon end its support for the movement.

Although the Mozambican Government, for its part, continues to honor all aspects of the agreement, the Mozambican people cannot enjoy the peace promised by the nonaggression pact between the two nations due to South Africa's attitude. Has Mozambique's changed political and other policies helped to solve the country's problems? So far, no. Renamo has exacted too heavy a toll on the country's economy nationwide, destroying the people's livelihood, with the assistance of South African intelligence. However, it has not been able to break the will of the people to survive.

Going back in history a ways, the listener will recall that in Gaza and [words indistinct] and other provinces, the Portuguese colonialists used the people for slaves and did nothing to develop and raise the standard of living in these areas. After the liberation war, the new government never enjoyed the peaceful climate within which to improve the socioeconomic standing of these regions due to the civil war.

There is a generation of youth that knows nothing better than war and strife and hunger, one which has had to struggle to survive all their lives. These youth learned early in their lives that power came only through the use of violence. They learned that possessing a deadly weapon was the only way to survive, that they could get the necessities of life by intimidating and robbing others. The situation is further complicated by the prevalence of disease and epidemics.

The signing of the Nkomati Accord did not help change the situation. The hope of renewal and healing promised by the accord has remained just that, an empty hope. The imported goods in the shops are beyond the means of ordinary Mozambicans, and their only hope lies in their making things themselves.

Hopefully, with time, the country will enjoy peace so that the people can once again practice their agriculture without disruption, when they can once again plant their cotton and sell their produce to the government to earn a living to provide for their families. The obstacle to such progress is Renamo's activity. Peace can be attained in Mozambique when South Africa honors the accord and stops aiding the rebel movement and learns to live in peace with its neighbor.

Namibia Urged To Avoid African 'Mistakes'

MB1603205590 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Boris Asoyan commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] The word Windhoek that a mere two years ago was used the world over with attendant hostility has today become a symbol of the end to Africa's colonial history.

On 21 March, flags of South Africa, that has illegally occupied the country for decades, and of the United Nations, under whose jurisdiction Namibia officially stayed, will be lowered at the capital's stadium. The flag of independent Namibia, with shades of blue, white, red, and green, will go up.

Boris Asoyan comments:

The solemn act will symbolize the end of the 30-year-long road to independence that began in the memorable year of Africa when, in 1960, 17 countries of the continent got freedom. The last but one country to get it was Zimbabwe, that attained independence 20 years after. Another decade was needed to turn the last page in the history book of African colonialism.

Namibia's independence is a bold testimony to the new political mentality in Africa. It became possible only a year and a half after the New York agreements were signed between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, and with the mediation of the USSR and the United States.

Essential for those agreements were the flexibility of the sides, their readiness for compromise, and respect for one another. They were undoubtedly the result of international action devoid of ideological calculus on the basis of universally accepted principles of international law.

On the other hand, Namibia's independence has become a possibility due to carefully adjusted UN mechanisms for resolving the conflict that seemed to many unresolvable. They provided for a smooth and steady transition to independence.

It should be said that very few dared to forecast it after the agreements were signed in 1988. But, the elections were surprisingly quiet and were commonly recognized as fair. In the general view, the situation in the country is now stable. The former adversaries followed the appeals of their leaders to forgive and forget the past quarrels and meet peacefully to discuss together the upcoming problems of their homeland.

No one has any doubts as to the magnitude of the problems the country will be facing, primarily in economy that is under heavy control from multinationals and the South African companies. The government has stated it plain that there will be no nationalization. Meanwhile, it is necessary to find a rational balance between the interests of the country and those of the foreign capital that would raise living standards and avert the plundering of natural resources in Namibia.

The government intends to strike a new approach to fisheries, as it believes the [word indistinct] capacities have been shrinking over the past years. Coming up is also the problem of financing new jobs in industries and agriculture, since unemployment can pose a major threat to stability.

The Namibians would evidently like to start resolving these and other issues as soon as possible and involve the maximum of foreign aid until the international community's interests towards their country has given place to other events.

On the other hand, they are well aware of the hardships that many African countries have had through too much haste, self-assuredness, and arrogance to the historical experience.

Many in Windhoek claim Namibia will not repeat their mistakes. Let us hope that will be so.

East Europe

GDR Elections Held; Preliminary Results Noted

TASS Reports on Polling

LD1803102490 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin March 18 TASS—People in the German Democratic Republic go to the polls tody to elect deputies to the People's Chamber (parliament) of the German Democratic Republic.

Representatives of 24 political parties, civil movements and associations are contesting 400 seats in the country's parliament.

The current polling is taking place under conditions of unprecedented political activity of the country's population. In March alone, more than a million people took part in pre-election activities.

Special attention during preparations for elections was given to securing that polling be held honestly so that its results would be falsified.

There are reasons for this kind of apprehensions: Less than a year ago there were considerable irregularities during the summing up of the results of communal elections in May last year.

This is ruled out this time, according to assurances by Petra Bless, the head of the central electoral commission. The entire procedure will take place under the public monitoring.

About 2,500 journalists are engaging in the coverage of the polling. The lagest number of media people arrived from the Federal Republic of Germany.

This is quite understandable: Under the conditions of the nascent German reunification process and the establishment of a monetary and economic union of the two German states, it will depend in many respects on the outcome of the elections and on the composition of the future parliament and government of the GDR how quickly and on what terms these processes will evolve subsequently.

The East German parliamentary election is also arousing a lively interest among members of parliament of a number of countries. Delegations of the European Parliament and a group of deputies of the Polish Sejm are now in Berlin to watch the course of the polling. A group of USSR people's deputies has also arrived in the capital of the GDR.

The first preliminary results of the polling are expected to become known one hour after the closing the polling stations, and the final results are to be made public on March 23.

'Alliance for Germany' Leads

LD1903135190 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT 19 Mar 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—Judging by preliminary results, yesterday's elections to the GDR People's Chamber brought victory to the tripartite Alliance for Germany, which polled about 49 per cent of the votes. The other parties lag far behind.

German reunification was the focus of the election campaign. Many East Germans believe it will positively influence their living standards. The results of the elections were obviously influenced by West German political parties, massive interference in the elections campaign—primarily the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and CSU [Christian Social Union]. Their leaders addressed election meetings in the GDR and made lavish promises.

It is expected in the Soviet Union that a lawful government will be formed in the GDR, along with other constitutional bodies with which the USSR will be able to maintain constructive relations in the spirit of existing agreements and mutual commitments.

The Soviet Union invariably stands for a further rapprochement of both Germanys on generally recognised international legal lines. Only such a stand meets the interests of all sides, including the Germans themselves.

Modrow Says Results 'Optimum'

LD1903093190 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin March 19 TASS—Hans Modrow, who is the main candidate from the Party of Democratic Socialism of the Democratic Republic of Germany (GDR), told journalists that considering the party was undergoing renewal, the results achieved at the elections were optimum.

"One should accept the results of the elections as they are," he said. "As a politician, however, I am duty bound to analyse these results, looking for reasons for the vast gap between the Alliance for Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany."

Modrow noted that citizens of the German Democratic Republic should learn to think in terms of the European continent. The GDR's inclusion into West Germany, on the strength of Article 23 of the West German Fundamental Law, would generate concern in Europe.

"A new head of government should be aware of this if he is to bear responsibility before Germans and Europeans," Modrow said. In his view, the task of the opposition should be to introduce into a single Germany what is really worth introducing.

According to tentative returns from the elections, the Party of Democratic Socialism has rather strong positions in the capital. It has gained 32 per cent of votes.

Commentary on Election Results

LD1903111890 Moscow World Service in English 0910 19 Mar 90

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The GDR has held its first free parliamentary elections in its history. Twenty-four parties, public movements and political alliances ran for the 400 seats in parliament. Of the 12.2 million franchised people 90 percent went to vote. Estimates show the conservative Alliance for Germany of the Christian Democratic Union, Democratic Breakthrough and German Social Union won more votes than others. The alliance is followed by the Social Democratic and Democratic Socialism Parties.

The world has taken an unusually great interest in the elections because the two Germanys' unification depends on their outcome. The Alliance calls for joining Federal Germany at once and without any conditions under the slogan "Down with Socialism". Its representatives, supported by Chancellor Kohl and other leading West German politicians, have managed to make many believe that retail stores will burst with goodies tomorrow. The GDR Social Democratic Party, on the contrary, suggests unifying step by step and without emotions. Many in the GDR believe with good reason that people in their country must have a pride and they, too, have something to contribute to a unified Germany. The fear of losing social guarantees made many support the Democratic Socialism Party, the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany that lived through humiliation, persecution, and intimidation when breaking off with the past. The German Communist Party is strongly against joining Federal Germany at once and the Social Democrats think the same. The time will tell whether the two parties will be able to cooperate in parliament, but millions who voted for them hope they will.

The acting prime minister of the GDR, Hans Modrow, said after the elections his Democratic Socialism party was ready to carry on a political struggle in parliamentary opposition. Judging by an opinion poll summed up on television, Hans Modrow remained the most popular politician in the German Democratic Republic.

Social Democrats' Failure Viewed

LD1803231590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Elections to the People's Chamber, the parliament, were held in the German Democratic Republic today. The special radio correspondents in Berlin, Viktor Levin and Anatoliy Stepkin, are in touch with the news studio. Here they are:

[Stepkin] We are conducting our reportage from the huge festival hall of the republic. What is going on here? Dozens of television stations are simultaneously interviewing politicians from the GDR and FRG, conducting reportages, so please don't blame us for all the noise. After 1800 we decided to listen to the first forecasts together with the Social Democrats. The leadership of the Social Democratic Party [SPD], honored guests from the FRG, and the party aktiv were supposed to gather in specially hired massive halls in the Friedrichsheim Park, and a band and champagne had been ordered. There we all were waiting for the first reports on television. The Christian Democratic Union was ahead, with 43 percent, the Social Democratic Party was only second, with 20 percent, and the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] was third with 14 percent. Fourth was the German Social Alliance, with 6.5 percent. The festive mood of the Social Democrats vanished instantly, and there was incomprehension, puzzlement, and depression on their faces. More and more fresh reports are now coming in, they are wavering a little, but not significantly. Thus it turns out that the Alliance for Germany may have 50 percent, or even more, and the Social Democrats have lost. Of course, so far all these figures are unofficial. The official ones will be published later by the Central electoral Commission; they will be partially isued late this evening or tomorrow, with the final figures in a week's time. We ask ourselves, why have the Social Democrats lost? Is it not because right from the start they rejected alliance with the PDS?

[Levin] I think that it is not just a matter of this, but of course it has to be admitted plainly that the election results have not been at all what was predicted. However, this is not the whole of the matter. At first glance, things could not be worse. But worse and better are relative concepts. Let's try to sort out calmly what has happened. In its election campaign the Alliance promoted a slogan of immediate reunification on the basis of Paragraph 23 of the FRG's Basic Law. The idea was essentially a call to throw themselves into the FRG's embraces, and the latter—I am setting forth the Alliance's thesis—will feed and clothe us and buy us a ticket for a trip to Majorca; our neighbor is rich and he will do everythig for us. Incidentally, there was material confirmation for these theses. The FRG's CDU budgeted 4.5 million Marks for the Alliance's election campaign alone. Soirees were arranged for young people with a free buffet—free, that can't be bad! It remains to draw the conclusion that they came to believe in the good intentions of the rich neighbor. People are inclined to believe in miracles. All the same, I think that another factor also came into play. The slogan "No more socialist experiments" worked. People were disenchanted with what had been served up to them for 40 years as socialism, and which in the event turned out to mean corruption of those at the top, universal surveillance, to say nothing about political freedoms, and a lower standard of living than in the FRG. And since all this was identified with the concept of socialism, people turned their backs both on the SPD and the PDS. It is all too easy to accuse those who voted for the Alliance of petit bourgeois mentality, of going for the juicy bait, but that would be a response belonging to yesterday. We live today, and we cannot get away with superficial conclusions—we can no longer get away with them. The GDR people have expressed their will. It is what it is. So we have to think seriously and analyse it in depth and we must look to the future.

DA Leader on Post-Election Prospects

PM1603163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 12

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "Freedom and Responsibility. Election Campaign in GDR Over"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—[passage omitted] A number of GDR parties have received considerable material support from the West. Not only left-wing parties—these, including the Party of Democratic Socialism have found themselves in the worst conditions in this respect (a PDS election placard stated significantly that it was printed in the GDR, unlike the glossy placards of the center and right-wing parties). West Germany's intervention in the election campaign will undoubtedly affect the disposition of forces in the future GDR parliament.

That was how I began my discussion with R. Eppelmann, leader of the "Democratic Awakening" (DA) Party and minister without portfolio. His party, together with the

Christian Democratic Union and the German Social Union, is part of the conservative "Alliance for Germany" bloc, which is conducting its election campaign under the slogan "Socialism—Never again!" The party was unlucky—on the eve of the elections Hamburg's DER SPIEGEL and the local press featured a report that DA Chairman W. Schnur was a double agent who cooperated simultaneously with the GDR Ministry for State Security and the West German special service. There was documentary proof of the charge, and Schnur had to resign immediately.

In R. Eppelmann's opinion, the future government of the GDR will be a coalition—he talks about a "grand coalition" similar to that which once existed in the FRG. The Social Democrats will join forces with the "Alliance for Germany" and possibly others will join them. The most important thing is for the government to be backed by at least 60 percent of the electorate, only then will it be viable.

The new government's first steps will be to create a currency union and then economic and social union with the FRG. The unification process will assume concrete form. It is important, R. Eppelmann says, that this process develop within the framework of the all-European process and at the same pace as it without getting ahead of it.

I asked how he pictures the GDR, say, by the end of this year. The country's economy must quickly switch to a market basis—that is what the majority of the parties want and are working for. By the end of the year social tension will increase and a large army of unemployed will appear—a serious problem for the future government. An unemployment allowance will be introduced and tens of thousands of people will have to learn another trade. The FRG Mark will completely oust the Ostmark, the economy will undergo a rapid privatization process, and Western capital will flow into the GDR. As for the political unification of Germany, this is a question for the longer term. It should not be hurried, R. Eppelmann said. [passage omitted]

Social Democrat Vogel Urges 'European Germany'

LD1903094190 Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn March 19 TASS—The unification of Germany should be based on an equal partnership between the two German states, comply with the security interests of European states and be an integral part of European development. Without these preconditions, German unity is impossible, according to Social Democratic Party of Germany leader Hans-Jochen Vogel.

Speaking at a conference, Vogel said that Social Democrats aim to create a united federative state.

This, however, cannot be achieved by incorporating the German Democratic Republic, he said.

The unification concerns people who have won freedom and who will bring their own experience and achievements into a new state structure, he said.

Vogel said he favors a phased unification, through talks to create a constitution for the new state, based on the free will of all people of East and West Germany.

He called for the creation of a joint council on German unity.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany supports the creation of a European Germany and not a German Europe, he said.

Social Democrats reject the "special German way" and the neutrality of the future Germany. They are also against changing the balance of forces between the two pacts.

The time calls for disarmament and restructuring the military alliances, rather than the spreading of NATO influence to other territories.

Social Democrats will work towards a European peace order, which will rule out military pacts, he said.

The order will be based on principles of universal security, inviolable borders and the sovereignty of all European states. Final Polish borders are of crucial importance in this connection, according to Vogel.

Vogel then went on to criticise the social policy of the federal government. Chancellor Kohl acts as if reforms are necessary only in East Germany, which is not so, he said. More than 3.3 million West German citizens live on welfare, more than ever before.

Hopelessness has increased 20 per cent. The number of jobless stands at two million people. 700,000 thousand [as received] are long-time unemployed, Vogel said.

'Unfavorable Structure' of GDR Export Trade Seen

PM1603190990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent S. Baygarov dispatch under general heading: "How We Trade": "USSR-GDR: Will Credits Be of Help?"]

[Text] Berlin—In accordance with the protocol on reciprocal deliveries bilateral, trade turnover for the past year was to have totaled 13.8 billion transferable rubles (R). The balance has not yet been drawn up, because reciprocal goods deliveries for 1989 are still in progress. According to Soviet trade mission information the projected trade turnover will be met as a whole, except for reciprocal deliveries to the value of R200-300 million which have not materialized. In principle, this is not such a bad indicator. What is worse is that the volume of last year's trade is considerably below the annual indicators laid down in the current 5-Year Plan.

The structure of Soviet-GDR trade remains traditional; it has not virtually changed in decades. Fuel and raw material goods account for more than 70 percent of our exports, while machinery, equipment, and spare parts account for 16 percent. The USSR is virtually the sole source of raw materials for the GDR. We also occupy strong positions in the sphere of power industry development and modernization in that country.

As for the GDR's exports to our country, machinery and equipment account for some 70 percent, and consumer goods for 18 percent.

In order to reduce the negative balance in the USSR's trade with the GDR, it was necessary to considerably reduce our imports of machinery and equipment: In 1988-1989 the purchases of these goods had to be reduced by R3.3 billion against the long-term 5-Year Plan agreement. By the end of 1989 we owed the GDR more than R800 million. And our debt will continue grow in the coming years.

From 1986 onward the Soviet side managed to balance bilateral trade in principle by reducing its purchases of equipment in the GDR—equipment that was not the very latest, but was nonetheless badly needed. Consumer goods imports made up for this by remaining at a relatively high level. We have now reached a point where imports of goods from the GDR cannot be further reduced without suffering ill effects.

When exchanging raw materials for machines, we reap the fruits of the imperfections of our foreign trade. We ourselves are not capable of selling equipment in large volumes.

Authorization to enter the foreign market directly has not helped to change the unfavorable structure of Soviet exports. For instance, the expenditure on maintaining all kinds of Soviet industrial missions in the GDR has more than doubled over the past two and a half years, while the share of machinery and equipment in our exports is decreasing with every passing year.

Iliescu on USSR Role in Romanian Economy

LD1603164190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Reports from abroad: The transformations taking place in Romania, the Soviet Union, and other neighboring countries are creating objective prerequisites for the affirmation of links on the principles of equality, respect, and mutual benefit. Ion Iliescu, chairman [as heard] of the Provisional National Unity Council stated this. The Soviet Union is our great neighbor, Iliescu said. It has great economic potential, and its economy supplements the Romanian economy. It is very important for maintaining the viability of the Romanian national economy. The further development of bilateral cooperation is a matter not of political choice but of common sense, the solution of which meets the national interests of Romania, the chairman of the Provisional National Unity Council of Romania emphasized.

Soviet-Romanian Trade Structure Outlined

PM1903093090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Vedrashko report under general heading "How We Trade": "USSR-Romania: Mutual Opportunities"]

[Text] Bucharest—The volume of the Soviet-Romanian trade turnover last year reached the level of 5.1 billion rubles. In this figure, Soviet exports accounted for R2.7 billion, and imports from Romania for R2.4 billion. The proportion of machinery and equipment in the Soviet export figure was equal to R0.5 billion. Under the same heading, products were received from Romania to the value of R1.2 billion.

The events of the December revolution in Romania have had an important influence on the development of bilateral trade. Deliveries to the USSR (as also to other countries) of food and agricultural produce, with which Romania traditionally paid for imports of energy and of energy source materials from the USSR, have stopped entirely. Not only Romania's Soviet partners, but also its partners from other countries have treated with understanding the needs of the Romanian people, for whom food products above all are now necessary.

In January 390,000 tonnes of oil and also many tens of millions of cubic meters of gas were exported from the USSR to Romania. Deliveries of electricity from the Soviet Union were also extremely important for the national economy. Intensive cooperation and the search for mutually acceptable solutions continue in other traditional areas also. The Soviet side, taking into account all the potential that it possesses, is endeavoring to do everything to meet the needs of a fraternal people.

Shevardnadze Leaves for Warsaw Pact Meeting

LD1703094390 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze departed from Moscow for Prague today where Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers will have a meeting.

The ministers will concentrate on the two Germanys' unification and the establishment of European security structures. They will also discuss the existence of the Warsaw Treaty, NATO, stability in Europe, the development of disarmament and European economic integration.

In the opinion of the Soviet leadership, while settling the German issue, European states should give special attention to synchronisation between possible unification of the German Democratic Republic and West Germany and the European process.

The USSR Foreign Ministry stressed in a statement issued last Wednesday that, apart from the two German states and the four allied powers, other countries whose interests can be affected, should participate in settling this issue.

The question of paramount importance for all Europe should not be settled only by Germans.

The Soviet Union's position in German affairs is prompted by its sincere desire to live in peace and accord with German and other European nations and to make an impressive contribution to European peaceful construction and to reliable collective security.

Bulgarian Prime Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD1903074790 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—Bulgarian Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov arrived in Moscow today on a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

At the airport he was welcomed by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and other officials.

Photo Feature on 'Life in Albania' Published

PM1503103590

[Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 March 1990 carries on page three under the headline "Albania: We Live the Way We Want To" an unattributed photo feature on life in Albania. The feature includes three TASS-attributed photographs showing a statue of Stalin, a worker eating in a canteen, and a woman and two men carrying a large bag. The caption reads:

"In the photographs: a monument to Stalin—one of the few remaining in the world; 'fast food'—a quick meal in Tirana: soup, beans, and rice or lentils; leaving the capital bearing gifts."

The feature also includes the following commentary:

"For many years (1948 through 1985) the country's leadership was headed by E. Hoxha. The slogan of 'relying entirely on our own forces' which he proclaimed in 1978 led the country to isolation. The shortage of consumer goods here is a big problem. Everywhere the slogan 'no imports without exports' dominates. Life according to the principle 'we are free and independent and that is how we want it' has turned Albania into the poorest country in Europe.

"What is the situation in the country like right now?

"R. Alia, the present leader, has begun to implement 'changes.' From the materials of the recent Ninth Plenum of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee in Tirana, we can see that the Albanian leadership understands the need to set in motion the processes of the democratization of society in an attempt to avoid the mounting public dissatisfaction and the uncontrolled development of events."

Russian-Language Journal Launched in Hungary

PM1503151590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by A. Rudenko: "Hungarian Meridian"]

[Text] A godsend for anyone interested in public attitudes in Hungary—it would be no exaggeration to describe the publication of the first issue of the new journal VENGERSKIY MERIDIAN in this way. It will be published quarterly in Budapest, and only in Russian. It will cover an extremely wide range of topics relating to economics, sociology, philosophy, jurisprudence, and other social sciences.

"Our publication's distinctive feature is its orientation toward 'stars of the first magnitude' in Hungarian public life," chief editor Gyorgy Varnai said at the launch of the journal. "The first issue opens with an article by Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party and 'father' of the 1968 economic reform, and in future issues there will be articles by Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice and major authority in the legal sphere, and a number of other well-known figures."

At the moment the journal is published in small numbers and can only be obtained on subscription.

West Europe

Adviser Says United Germany Can Join NATO

LD1703110590 Hamburg DPA in German 1002 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—In the view of Soviet political scientist Vyacheslav Dashitshev, a united Germany could be a member of NATO. Professor Dashitshev, who belongs to the Institute of International Relations in Moscow and is a close adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, told BILD AM SONNTAG that if the government and people of Germany express a wish for the country to be a NATO member, then no one will oppose that desire.

Dashitshev put forward the view that in the not too distant future Soviet troops will be withdrawn from the GDR, as well as from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and also from Poland, because their pressure there is no longer meaningful. This must clearly proceed within the framework of a mutual reduction of armed forces in the East and West. The fact that the decisions of the new GDR Government will certainly be respected by the Soviet Union is in line with the new foreign policy concept, which is aimed at the self-determination of nations.

'Surprise' Reaction Noted Over GDR Election

LD1803225390 Hamburg DPA in German 2158 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Officials in Moscow have reacted with surprise to the victory of the conservative alliance in the elections to the GDR People's Chamber. On the sidelines of a joint election party of the ARD and GDR studios in Moscow, the expert on Germany in the CPSU Central Committee, Nikolay Portugalov, and the historian Vyacheslav Dashichev said that this result had not been expected in Moscow. Portugalov added that it has to be accepted as the decision of the GDR voters.

On German unification Portugalov said that if this takes place on the basis of Article 23 of the Basic Law it will mean membership of the united Germany in NATO. "But this is not acceptable to us." He stressed that the process of German unification must be harmonized with the creation of a bloc-transcending, European security system.

Dashichev, who is a member of the Moscow Institute for International Relations, repeated on the other hand his thesis that the road to German unification "doesn't matter," saying that "the process can no longer be halted." Concerning membership [in NATO] of the whole of Germany, he said the balance of forces only played a role in the cold war: "German neutrality is no longer attainable." He also showed understanding for the NATO leaders, "because the USSR's path has not yet been decided." "It is quite possible that in Moscow reactionary or military forces could come to power.

FRG's Bahr Interviewed on GDR Elections

LD1803213790 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin March 18 TASS—Egon Bahr, member of the Presidium and the Board of the West German Social Democratic Party, who is staying in Berlin in connection with elections here, gave an interview to TASS special correspondent Vyacheslav Kevorkov immediately after the polls closed.

Q: The polls, which closed several minutes ago, turned a page in the history of Germany and Europe as a whole. Although we will learn about the results later, it would be interesting to know what you think about the election campaign in the German Democratic Republic?

A: I am deeply indignant at what I have seen in East Germany. These have been the dirtiest elections I ever saw.

Q: What do you mean?

A: The entire election campaign was turned into an action controlled by the Western German Christian Democratic Union [CDU] and the Christian Social Union [CSU]. This was an outrageous action which no serious political party in West Germany would have performed.

Paid groups of young people tore off placards of the East German Social Democratic Party. Cars bearing Munich plates—Munich is the site of the West German Christian Democratic Union 's headquarters—filled streets in Leipzig. People in those cars, using loudspeakers, urged the population not to attend a rally at which Willy Brandt was to speak.

Q: Who witnessed these events?

A: Brandt saw them himself, and not only he.

Q: Aren't such actions banned in West Germany?

A: Categorically banned. These groups could act in such a way only in a country in which there is no boss, or rather in which they felt themselves to be the bosses.

In small Thuringian and Saxonian towns, many well-known members of the Social Democratic Party and the Party of Democratic Socialism regularly received letters with threats. In Suhl, a young man who called on people to vote for Social Democrats was beaten up and his legs were broken.

Even children were used in the propaganda campaign. They were given Western money for distributing leaflets of the German Social Union—a branch of the West German Christian Social Union.

This was a veritable psychological terror campaign used according to Goebbels's methods. I repeat that this political pollution was exported from Germany. I think that such manifestations must be nipped in the bud.

Q: How would you explain such extremes on the part of the CDU/CSU?

A: Helmut Kohl was very much afraid that democratic forces could win the elections in the GDR, this is why he acted according to the end-always-justifies-the-means method.

Q: The elections in the GDR to some extent were a prelude to the December elections in West Germany. They were determined by the same factors that will determine the West German elections. Do you rule out the use of the same dirty methods by the CDU/CSR during the December elections?

A: No, I don't.

Kryuchkov Holds Talk With Swedish Ambassador

PM1503132590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] V.A. Kryuchkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR KGB, received O. Berner, Swedish ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request 7 March.

Questions of mutual interest were discussed in the course of their conversation, which was businesslike and constructive. The meeting was attended by H. Magnusson, minister plenipotentiary and counselor at the Swedish Embassy in the USSR.

Karpov Receives Norway's J. Holst 15 Mar

PM1603134590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 7

[TASS report: "At USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] On 15 March USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Karpov received J. Holst, director of the Norwegian International Relations Institute, at the latter's request.

Nordic Air Talks Conclude, Agreement Signed

LD1603160290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] The signing of an agreement on the opening of regular air communications between the northern areas of Norway, the Soviet Union, Sweden, and Finland brought to an end the four-party talks between the delegations of these countries. This will be particularly welcome to employers who have established close business contacts with enterprises on the Kola Peninsula.

We will add that the functioning of the new international routes that will link the administrative centers of the four countries' northern areas will start in June.

Economic, Industrial Protocol Signed With Spain

LD1603142690 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—The fifth session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Spanish mixed commission on economic and industrial cooperation ended here on Thursday in the signing of an intergovernmental protocol.

The protocol notes that mutual trade is dominated by raw materials and semifinished products. At the same time, the protocol notes a certain increase of mutual deliveries of machinery and equipment, especially from Spain to the Soviet Union.

This progress was reached through the increase of the Spanish deliveries of knitting and sewing equipment, as well as equipment for tanning, footwear and furrier enterprises.

The Soviet Union and Spain determined the trends of cooperation in such areas as the light and food industries, agricultural production, processing and storage of agricultural produce, building materials production, shipbuilding, overhaul of oil refineries in the Soviet Union, machine-tool manufacture, power generation, and production of consumer goods.

The sides stated special interest in the development of joint enterprises.

Proceeding from the wish for tapping the economic potential of both countries most effectively, the session discussed agreements and documents to be signed shortly: on the granting of credits for the financing of deliveries of machinery and equipment by Spain to the USSR, on the encouragement and mutual protection of capital investments, on a long-term programme of scientific and technological cooperation, on cooperation in the light industry, and others.

The delegations deemed it expedient to set up a temporary working group to draft these documents and to organise a meeting of cochairmen of the commission to coordinate these documents.

For the Soviet side the protocol was signed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Yuriy Chumakov. For Spain the document was signed by Apolonio Ruiz Ligero, state secretary for trade of the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

Low-Interest Credit Offered

LD1703180190 Madrid in Spanish to Europe 1230 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] The Spanish Government has offered a line of credit of $1 billion to the Soviet Union. The low-interest credit would have to be for Soviet companies with interests in Spain. This was said today by Spanish Secretary of State for Trade Apolonio Ruiz Ligero, who is visiting Moscow.

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro Urges Gorbachev To Keep Soviet 'Spirit'

PM1703172590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 90 Second Edition p 4

[Telegram carried under the general heading "Greetings Telegrams to His Excellency, the President of the USSR, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev"]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR.

Comrade Gorbachev, I send you, on your election to the post of president of the USSR, the greetings of the people and the Communist Party and Government of Cuba, to which I join my own feelings of personal satisfaction in connection with this lofty appointment.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have placed a high responsibility on you. You are first of all the head of the forces defending the maintenance of unity among all the peoples who form the glorious USSR, which for many years—isolated and alone—waged a struggle to realize the aspirations and hopes of the finest sons of mankind and which played an exceptional role in the Soviet people's defeat of Nazism and upholding of the cause of peace. You also have to exercise the leadership of the Soviet Union in a period of transformations, when the retention of that spirit which has inspired the movement of Soviet fighters for 70 years is crucial. The new post also confronts you with the responsible task of achieving mutual understanding in a world where the interests of the great powers should be harmoniously combined with the aspirations of the peoples of the Third World.

We are certain, Comrade Gorbachev, that your foresight and great political talent will make it possible for you, with the support of the Soviet people and the understanding of the peoples of the world, to carry out these most important historical tasks. In carrying out these planned lofty goals you can count on the Cuban people's support and solidarity.

Sincerely,
Fidel Ruz Castro, president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

Commentary on U.S. Congress' Anti-Cuban Campaign

PY0603024090 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Vladimir Korotkov commentary]

[Text] As I read press reports stating that the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have formed special groups to exert pressure on Cuba in an attempt to change the regime ruling that Caribbean Island, I could not help remembering the most somber years of the cold war. I think that since the 1962 crisis in the Caribbean, Washington has never launched such a hostile plan against the Cuban people, because we are not just talking about press, radio, or television reports, but about a plan in which U.S. congressmen are involved.

During a news conference, Republican Senator [name indistinct] has stated that the legislative groups have been instructed to step up the campaign for the defense of human rights in Cuba, to support the anti-Cuban radio and television stations, and to tighten the economic blockade against Cuba. The ultimate objective of all those measures is to get the Cuban people to give up the path they have taken and force them into the orbit of Western democracy.

It seems that Washington is forgetting the new times in which we are living but not those of the cold war. The decision of the U.S. Congress revives those obsolete methods that have already been condemned by the international community. Once again we are witnessing an impertinent intervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign nation. This attempt to crush the Cuban peoples' will violates international law.

Washington obviously has its own interpretation of what the easing of tensions in international politics means. In this case, the United States seems to believe that Cuba should tolerate anything.

Does this plan fit the new political mentality loudly touted by U.S. Government officials?

Trade, Cooperation Accord Signed With Panama

LD0703100990 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Panama City, Mar 7 TASS—The Soviet and Panamanian Chambers of Commerce and Industry signed an agreement on Tuesday to promote trade and cooperation.

For the Soviet side the document was signed by A. Privalov, a senior representative of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry who is among several Soviet officials who have arrived for the Expocomer-90 exhibition, and for Panama—by Raul Adames, president of the Panamanian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The agreement envisages commercial information exchanges and joint trade projects, fairs, exhibitions, etc.

U.S. Force's Withdrawal From Panama Disputed

PM2802150990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Listov dispatch: "They Have Left Without Going; Has the U.S. Expeditionary Body Been Withdrawn From Panama?"]

[Text] Mexico, 22 Feb—A few days ago the local press carried a "sensational" report: "The last soldier of the U.S. occupying forces has left Panama." The mass media, and particularly television, tried to make the report look authentic. The appropriate "confirmations" came from Washington. President Bush did not fail to speak his mind in the same spirit at the recent top-level meeting which took place in the Colombian city of Cartagena.

But there are many compelling grounds for doubting the veracity of the statements made. Many news agencies are reporting from Panama that U.S. soldiers "retain real control over the country." In many areas the occupiers continue to inhaibt the barracks of "the forces of public order" (Panama's national defense forces, which were eliminated as a result of the intervention, have been replaced by these formations). As before the Americans are also conducting "mopping-up operations."

The Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) of Panama set up by General Omar Torrijos, which has been in power all these years, published a communique which stresses that Washington's statements about the "complete withdrawal" of the occupying forces were no more than a "clever maneuver." In the PRD's view, the Washington administration's maneuver was designed to "save" President Bush's meeting with the presidents of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia because the last two stated repeatedly that they would not participate in it if the United States would not withdraw its forces from Panama.

Now that the meeting in Cartagena is over, reports from Panama are saying that the PRD was not far from the truth in its assessment. Foreign correspondents in Panama testify that the streets in the capital's so-called "working class districts" [narodnykh kvartalakh] are still being patrolled by U.S. soldiers going around in military vehicles, and U.S. combat aircraft are continuing to fly around the capital. And in the satellite city of La Chorrera, which is reputed to be "a Torrijos stronghold," from time to time the occupiers carry out "operations to flush out armed groups."

The occupiers are also still the main support of the present regime in its attack on mass democratic organizations. Thus, for instance, after destroying 3 January the premises of the national confederation of peasant cooperatives, U.S. soldiers are still keeping it under their control today. They are organizing a "hunt" of this mass organization's leaders and activists, particularly in the provinces of Chiriqui, Colon, and Panama.

As we see, reports about the complete withdrawal from Panama of interventionist forces are inaccurate, to put it mildly. How can one fail to recall the common Latin American saying: "There's a big difference between words and actions"...

Brazilian President Meets Supreme Soviet Deputy

LD1703052190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0108 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Brasilia, 17 Mar (TASS)—The USSR delegation, headed by M.I. Snegur, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, which took part in the ceremony to transfer presidential power in Brazil, was received yesterday by F. Collor de Mello, the new president of that country. The head of the Soviet delegation conveyed to F. Collor de Mello a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR. During the conversation which took place, a mutual aspiration for the further deepening and development of the mutually advantageous contacts between the two countries was expressed.

Jose Francisco Rezek, minister of foreign affairs of Brazil, took part in the conversation.

Moscow Examines New Brazilian Administration

PY1703000290 Moscow in Portuguese to Brazil 2200 GMT 15 Mar 90

[By Mikhail Mayorov]

[Text] The new Brazilian president was sworn in today. He is Fernando Collor de Mello, 40 years of age, from Alagoas State. He is already well known here in the Soviet Union because of the visit he made to Moscow late last January when he met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who by coincidence was also installed today as the president of the Soviet Union.

Fernando Collor de Mello is the first Brazilian president to have been elected in direct elections after almost 30 years. Brazil is still trying to overcome the political influence of the military regimes. The main problems the new administration will face will be economic; inflation, unemployment, low standard of living of the majority of the population, ecological problems, and a vicious circle that the president will have to overcome.

The new president will not necessarily concentrate all his efforts on domestic problems no matter how serious because he is also responsible for foreign policy. He will also have to activate international links. No country in the world, not even Brazil, can remain isolated because the world is becoming more interconnected every day.

Before his inauguration Collor de Mello visited Washington, Moscow, and other capitals. Collor's visit to the Soviet Union early this year was quite interesting because until that time the Soviet Union had never received leaders before they were installed. An exception was made for Brazil. Soviet diplomacy is now paying more attention to Latin America than in the past. Collor is willing to pay back the Soviet gesture. He said that he advocates a high level political dialogue with the Soviet Union. He has very interesting ideas for radically renewing bilateral economic links with the Soviet Union which are by no means at the level they should be considering the potentials of the two countries. It is obvious that preconcepts of the past hurt our relations at a time of ideological confrontation.

The world is changing and the attitude of countries is also changing. This means that the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Brazil can take a positive turn any time.

Shevardnadze, Jamaica's Coore Exchange Cables

PM1503112190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 8

[TASS report under the general heading: "Exchange of Cables"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze and Jamaican Foreign Minister D. Coore have exchanged telegrams of congratulations to mark the 15th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Jamaica.

The cables expressed mutual satisfaction at the state of Soviet-Jamaican relations and confidence that they will continue to develop dynamically in the interests of the Soviet and Jamaican peoples.

Supreme Soviet Session

Lukyanov Opens Session as Supreme Soviet Resumes

LD1903081490 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow march 19 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The current proceedings of the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have been largely determined by the results of the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. The session resumed its work today after a four-day recess that made way for the Congress.

The deputies intend to focus primarily on the new federal treaty and the mechanism for the secession of union republics from the USSR.

The Soviet parliament, whose third session began on February 14, is discussing a package of bills that will determine the political and economic structure of Soviet society.

Before the recess, the Supreme Soviet adopted the laws on land and ownership, recognised the need to hold an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies to establish the post of Soviet president and elect him.

It is common knowledge that the Congress elected Mikhail Gorbachev first president of the country.

Opening today's meeting, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov moved to draw up a list of priority bills and decisions that are to be passed by the country's supreme legislative body. The parliament's work in the foreseable future will be based on this list.

Primakov on Agenda Items for Supreme Soviet

OW1903112290 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Chairman of the Council of the Union Yevgeniy Primakov informed the Supreme Soviet about those agenda items that he moved to discuss first and foremost.

They include the new federal treaty and the mechanism for the session of union republics from the USSR. He also moved to discuss new legal acts intended to accelerate the fulfillment of earlier adopted laws on land, ownership and leasing. They include bills on taxation, principles of local self-government and on socialist enterprises.

The next group of legal acts deals with the enforcement of law and order: Bills on interior troops, on emergency situations and on legal responsibility for extremist calls and actions to forceably overthrow the existing system. Measures to clean up the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster are also priority issues.

In order to draw up all these acts properly and to accelerate their adoption, the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities will hold separate meetings more frequently than previously. "This week, for instance," Chairman of the Council of Nationalities Rafik Nishanov said, "the two chambers will hold separate meetings on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday."

It was also announced that ministers of the USSR will answer deputies' questions once a month in order to toughen parliamentary control over the governments activities.

Commission on Deputies' Ethics Meets

LD1603220290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] The first session of a new parliamentary formation—the Commission on the Issues of Deputies' Ethics—took place today. A provisional statute of the commission was discussed. Deputies agreed that certain ethical postulates look elementary, but practice has shown that deputies have to learn both restraint and politeness and such simple things as the impermissibility of walking along the aisles while speeches are in progress, shouting from the floor, of squabbling with the presidium. All this presents an image of deputy in society, hence, a certain code of deputies' honor needs to be elaborated and observed. The commission is to promote that, but in no way should it turn into either a comrades' court, or an inquisition, or become a place for examining complaints and slanderous allegations. Its main task is to promote the parliament's culture and work.

Congress of People's Deputies

Congress Deems Lithuanian Independence 'Unlawful'

PM1903100990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 90 Second Edition p 1

["Resolution of the Extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Connection With the Decisions of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet of 10-12 March 1990"]

[Text] On 10-12 March 1990 the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR declared the restoration of the Lithuanian state's independence and the abrogation of the validity of the constitutions of the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR on the territory of the republic.

Although it possesses the constitutional right to self-determination, at the same time a union republic, both on entry to the federation and on leaving it, cannot ignore the political, socioeconomic, territorial, legal, and other problems arising from this. The Congress of People's Deputies regards the above decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR as unlawful.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies determines that in accordance with Articles 74 and 75 of the USSR

Constitution, the sovereignty of the USSR and the validity of the USSR Constitution continue to extend to the territory of Lithuania as a union Soviet socialist republic.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies **Resolves:**

1. While confirming the right of every union republic to free secession from the USSR (Article 72 of the USSR Constitution), the congress determines that until the procedure for and consequences of secession from the composition of the Soviet Union are established by law the unilateral decisions by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, which are contrary to Articles 74 and 75 of the USSR Constitution, are null and void.

2. To charge the USSR president, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers with ensuring, until the appropriate decisions on the given question are adopted, the defense of the legal rights of every person living in Lithuania, as well as the observance on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR of the rights and interests of the USSR, and also of the union republics.

3. The bodies of state power and government of the Lithuania SSR are to adopt all measures to ensure that law and order are not violated on the territory of the republic.
Moscow, Kremlin. 15 March 1990

Gorbachev Sums Up Lithuanian Debate

LD1603215590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2254 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Speech by M.S. Gorbachev summing up debate on Lithuania at 15 March Congress of People's Deputies session in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev reads note] To the Presidium of the Congress: A few hours ago we elected a president. Why? Is M.S. Gorbachev again saying nothing? I congratulate you on your election and ask you to say something about the Lithuanian question. From Sergey Vasilyev of Tyumen.

I would certainly like to react and pronounce on this. But in terms of procedure, I would like to say that we are certainly not changing our style of communication, even now that the situation is changing. Therefore, I would address that comment to Comrade Vasilyev.

I think that, with maybe a few exceptions among those who spoke at the beginning of the debate, all the comrades who expressed their views here were unanimous about one thing, and the remainder were unanimous on one thing. They agreed that the congress could not disperse without expressing its views on this cardinal question of our country's internal life, without expressing its assessment. We have recieved so many telegrams indicating very great alarm and concern at the events taking place in Lithuania at the moment. People would not understand the congress, if during its three-day session here it did not consider it necessary to discuss this question and express its assessment and its attitude. Therefore, comrades, I think that we have done the right thing by holding this debate, even though I can see that some deputies are not very happy about this. That is the first thing.

Second: When we discuss this problem, we must see Lithuania, we must see the entire country, and, furthermore, Europe and the world. Nobody should try to simplify this question, nobody. We have shown immense patience and continue to do so. I consider this to have been the hallmark of all the speeches. We have also shown respect. For months—indeed for the last 18 months, two years—we have been conducting an active dialogue with our Lithuanian comrades, with the Lithuanian people. I think that up to now we have done the right thing by holding this dialogue. If this process has nevertheless now taken on such an acute form, I think that this is not the fault of the center. It is not the fault of the representatives of all the republics, who showed respect, patience, and comradeship and continue to do so. But we have now reached the point where processes which should be stopped are starting—and there are already signs of this. We must bluntly tell both the Lithuanian people, the entire country, and the world about this. The world is also waiting to hear our position, the position of the Congress of People's Deputies.

I would like to take as my starting point what I said at the beginning of the congress. The congress and all of us, expressing the will of the Soviet people, retain our respect for the Lithuanian people. We do not confuse it with those who are pushing it into a historic impasse and who might jeopardize the entire future of those people. We must help both the Lithuanian people and even many of those who today link their activities with the adoption of those decisions which we know about—although we do not know about all of them yet. We must help them to realize the situation. I think that we can do this by retaining two important features of our approach: Respect and patience, retaining these things but also displaying our principles and showing firmness. This now has to be done.

In this connection I summarize the contributions of deputies. Many deputies have also sent amendments and views on the kind of document we should adopt. I would say that, on the basis of this same document which you have, we could in fact adopt such a decision after removing superfluous verbiage and argumentation from it but retaining all the important political and legal statements and instructions, which are so necessary now and which are dictated by the situation. This will be close to what Comrade Falin said. In fact, I am using as a basis the variant which he also sent me, and about which he spoke. We could—and you can refer to the text which you have in front you—say the following: On 10-12 March the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR announced the restoration of the Lithuanian state's independence—and here we place the word "restoration" in inverted commas, and the ending of the validity of the constitutions of the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR on the republic's territory. This has occured. We note this. We are not ignoring this.

Further, page two, the second paragraph could read as follows: The Congress of People's Deputies regards the above decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR as unlawful. This is also an important statement. There is no need for further development or argumentation of this theses. We all know this.

Further I think that we can rightly leave the end—of the second page that is—reading as it is, namely: Both on entry to the federation and on leaving it a union republic, which has the constitutional right to self-determination, cannot ignore the political, socio-economic, territorial, legal and other problems arising from this.

In this regard a warning was expressed to the Lithuanian comrades, and you will recall that I have repeatedly said that, if anyone imagines that this matter can be decided thus by raising one's hand and by assembling hastily at night to preempt the convening of the next congress and so on, this is very frivolous both from the viewpoint of solving fateful questions for a people and for the peoples of the country as a whole. It is irresponsible.

Therefore the wording needs to be as follows: Taking account of what has been expounded, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies states that in accordance with Articles 74 and 75 of the USSR Constitution the sovereignty of the USSR and the validity of the USSR Constitution continue to extend to the territory of Lithuania as a union Soviet socialist republic.

Then after such a juridical and political statement it would be possible to go on to the resolution itself as follows: The USSR Congress of People's Deputies resolves: First, while confirming the right of every union republic under Article 72 of the USSR Constitution to freely secede from the USSR, the Third Congress of People's Deputies deems that in the future until the adoption of a law defining the procedure for seceding from the USSR and its consequences the decisions adopted 10-12 March by the Seimas of the Lithuanian republic are invalid as being contrary to Articles 74 and 75 of the USSR Constitution. This is contained in the statement and it also needs to be carried over into the decision.

Second, the USSR president is to be instructed in the future until the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the government—and you and I gave such instructions to the Supreme Soviet and the government on the first working day of our congress—as I was saying, until the adoption of the relevant decisions on this matter to ensure the protection of the lawful rights of every individual residing in the territory of the Lithuanian republic and also the observance of the rights and interests of the USSR and other union republics in the territory of Lithuania. What I have said will, so to speak, in my opinion cover the most important points. [applause]

Further Comments

PM1603165590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Mar 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[V. Izgarshev, O. Losoto, Ye. Yevgenyev, A. Stroyev, V. Khatuntsev, V. Shirokov report: "The President Takes an Oath Before the People"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Whereas the discussion of A. Lukyanov's candidacy and the campaigning in support of him continued afterward, Ye. Velikhov was only discussed for a short time, and it remained unclear what kind of a program he was prepared to put forward as a candidate. However, a dramatic spectacle unfolded during the discussion of A. Kazannik, and the contender himself set the tone by stating: I have come up on this rostrum not to announce that I am pulling out, but in order to win!

Such a resolute intention was evidently mainly aimed at the public, since the candidate did not proclaim any integral program, but was nevertheless very critical about parliament's activities. However, the triumphal zeal almost turned into an unexpected fiasco. Deputy Yu. Komarov, employing a negative bias, quoted extensively from one of A. Kazannik's newspaper interviews and concluded with a rejection of his candidacy. A number of deputies, on the other hand, described the contender's strong points. And then a kind of procedural crisis arose. The chairman intended to put the question of the rejection of the candidate to the vote. A debate started as to whether such a decision is in line with the standing orders. As Deputy V. Samarin noted, the motive for rejection is the most important thing, because after all, any candidate could be rejected in this way just because someone doesn't like his hairstyle....

The impassioned dialogue led to the question being withdrawn and A. Kazannik's candidacy remained on the list.

There then followed another surprise: Deputy K. Zaslavskiy announced that he was pulling out. And Deputy K. Lubenchenko not only successfully expounded his program, but was rewarded with more praise than any other candidate. There was also no special debate over N. Fedorov's candidacy, and as time was pressing, the three remaining contenders remained on the list practically without any discussion. Yet, after all, A. Sobchak was among those....

It could have been predicted that his sharply worded speech of the previous day was going to be mentioned, and indeed the candidate once again came in for a lot of criticism. In his energetic speech, A. Sobchak tried to explain his position more intelligibly, but he scarcely managed to change the minds of the deputies who had cooled toward him. Prejudice develops from an initial impressions so it is hard to backtrack. [passage omitted]

Then M.S. Gorbachev took the floor. He read out a note that had been sent to the presidium appealing to him to say something about the question of Lithuania.

Essentially, the president said, I would like to respond and take the floor. But for form's sake, I would like to say: "We cannot change our style of communication even if the situation is already changing."

The speakers, M.S. Gorbachev went on to observe, are unanimous in the opinion that the congress cannot be concluded without expressing its attitude to this cardinal question of our country's internal life. The telegrams we have received testify to very great alarm and unease over what is happening in Lithuania today.

When discussing this problem, we have to see both Lithuania and the whole country. And even Europe and the world. And we must not simplify this question. We have displayed and are continuing to display great tolerance and respect. This, I believe, is the leitmotif of all the speeches.

We have been carrying on active dialogue with our Lithuanian comrades, the Lithuanian people, not just over several months, but for one and a half or two years now. And we think that so far we have acted correctly in carrying on this dialogue. If this process has however acquired such an acute form today, then I think this is not the center's fault and it is not the fault of the representatives of all republics who have displayed and are continuing to display respect, tolerance, and comradeship.

But at the same time, we have reached the boundary beyond which processes are beginning—and there are already signs of these—that must be stopped. And we must say this straight out to the Lithuanian people, to the whole country, and to the world. The world is also waiting for our stance—the stance of the Congress of People's Deputies.

I would like to proceed on the basis of what I said at the beginning of the work of the congress. The congress and all of us, expressing the will of the Soviet people, retain a feeling of respect for the Lithuanian people, and we do not confuse them with those who are pushing them into a historical impasse and who may jeopardize the future of the people. We must help both the Lithuanian people and the many people whose activity is now connected with the adoption of the decisions we know about. But at the same time, preserving respect and tolerance, we must display an adherence to principle and firmness.

In this connection, the president proposed that a decision be adopted that would get rid of the superfluous information provided in the draft document, and restrict itself to important political and legal pronouncements and instructions which are so necessary now and which are dictated by the situation.

M.S. Gorbachev proposed a text of the resolution, which the congress adopted by a majority vote. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Meeting With Yazov Reported

PM1603140190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting Between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and Servicemen Deputies"]

[Text] Soviet President M.S. Gorbachev met with servicemen deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 15 March. On behalf of Army and Navy servicemen USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov cordially congratulated Mikhail Sergeyevich on his election as the country's first president.

During the discussion M.S. Gorbachev made a high assessment of the role and importance of the Armed Forces as the guarantor of the country's security and noted the need to further enhance their qualitative parameters at a time of Army and Navy cuts and to strengthen troop discipline and organization. He shared his thoughts on the work of political organs in the new political situation in the country and on the implementation of the profound and progressive military reform which should lead not to the weakening of the Army but to the strengthening of its combat might and the enhancement of the personnel's professionalism.

The meeting discussed the development of the government program aimed at improving social protection for servicemen and their family members. M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the Army is tied to the people in the closest possible way, shares all of society's concerns, and experiences the same difficulties. I must say that, while cutting defense funds on the whole and carrying out conversion, we are nonetheless continuing to develop promising scientific research work in the defense sphere. We cannot weaken the country's defenses. A great deal of criticism is currently being leveled at the Army. Despite all the contradictory arguments, criticism is fundamentally useful and society's voice must be heeded. But we must accept criticism calmly and draw the correct conclusions from it. Calm in the Army means calm in the country, too.

The meeting participants said that the Army should be used strictly for its intended purpose [po prednaznacheniyu], particularly with regard to situations associated with the exacerbation of interethnic relations.

At the meeting M.S. Gorbachev stated that in the post of Soviet president and supreme commander in chief of the USSR Armed Forces he will be constantly concerned to strengthen the country's defenses, and he expressed confidence that Army and Navy servicemen will worthily carry out the tasks facing them.

L.N. Zaykov took part in the meeting.

Lukyanov Addresses Congress on Various Topics

Speaks 15 March

LD1603181490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2317 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Address given by A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the third USSR Congress of People's Deputies on 15 March at the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade president, esteemed comrades deputies:

First of all, permit me to express profound gratitude to you for the great confidence you have placed in me by electing me chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I will make every effort to justify this confidence, which is very great and very binding upon me.

It was almost a year ago that I had occasion to speak from this platform about what lay in store for the Supreme Soviet and for our Congress. We said at that time that we had to do away with the formal, submissive, ceremonial function of the supreme body of power. We said that a working, exacting body should be created, one that allows the whole range of points of view and positions to be exposed, one where there can be no question that cannot be examined by the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, and that we should work openly for all the masses to see and in close relation with the working people. We also spoke about the serious tasks in the sphere of legislation and about other aspects of the Supreme Soviet's work. And if we look over what has been done, then during that time—and look at all this from the standpoint of today—then we have every grounds for saying that much has indeed been done. The USSR Supreme Soviet, which has become neither subservient, nor Stalinist-Brezhnevite, and especially not ceremonial, is gaining momentum.

Over a period of ten months the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet have adopted 28 major laws and over 220 decisions. I have to say that much that is new and serious has emerged in our work, although there have been considerable difficulties as well. At the same time, of course, we still have to do much more than we have.

What would I like to point out in these few words after my election? First, now, when we can truly feel the breath of a multi party system, it is exceptionally important to learn how to organize the work of the Supreme Soviet in order, on the one hand, to use to the full the positive charge that political pluralism brings with it; and, on the other hand, to reduce the degree of tension that it provokes. And here patience and tolerance of the opinion of one's opponent and the ability to acknowledge his rights is required. And I say this firmly because people here have been saying that we do not always succeed here in observing equal relations, so to speak. It seems to me that the platform of my party—the Communist Party—to the 28th CPSU Congress indeed urges the representatives of our party to be in a permanent dialogue with all the forces who come out in favor of perestroyka.

People say that he who is young and not inclined toward radicalism does not have a heart. And he who at a mature age is not subjected to conservatism has no sense. [laughter in hall]

Of course, this aphorism, like all others, is a relative one. But you will agree that in the work of the Supreme Soviet both one and the other—both a mature intellect and young radicalism—should combine capably. In a word, we need democracy in practice.

Second, never before in the Supreme Soviet has the need been felt so exactingly to analyze so attentively the state of and the prospects for the development of interethnic relations as they stand today. And we became convinced of this at today's debate, during today's discussions at the Congress. I believe that the Supreme Soviet can only work successfully when sincere respect is shown for it and its representatives by all nations and all ethnic groups. And much here depends precisely on our work, the work of the Supreme Soviet.

I believe that those comrades were right who said that the chambers—both the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—should work more actively, and that both all-union and national interests should be expressed from both sides. And then there will be an opportunity in the very near future to adopt a law on the renewal of the union treaty, that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was speaking about in his speech today, and then there will be an opportunity to move toward legislation on this road. In a word, we need internationalism in practice. [applause]

Third, every day the Supreme Soviet is faced with a question of great importance in the development of legislation. Yes, we need to make legislation, as Lenin taught us, by acting circumspectly time and again, measuring things seven times. But it seems to me that we lose a great deal when we have abstract, sometimes nonprofessional laws without any good machinery for implementing them. And here, surely, we need to pull back from that brink and be much more professional. So the Supreme Soviet must show more and more professionalism in practice.

My fourth point: The introduction of the institution of the presidency and the whole discussion at the congress forces us to structure in a new way our relations both with the president and with the government. And here it seems to me that there is a great deal we still have have to do, because the supervisory functions of the Supreme Soviet have been weakened. Both the Supreme Soviet itself and its standing commissions and committees are performing poorly in this respect. In the Supreme Soviet we must have firm, strong, and effective supervision [kontrol]—practical supervision.

And finally, my last point: It seems to me that each of us, and the Supreme Soviet as a whole, are going to have to master the art of responding in the best way to the challenges of our time. We must learn to integrate and, I should say, put together and accumulate the experience of each of our comrades: of the worker or collective farmer, engineer, scientist, doctor, or cultural figure. And then we will learn how to draw the right conclusions from the things we reflect upon and decide. And then there will be no attempts to play as in a football team, where it is a matter of who will score a goal against whom. We must work as one team—as one orchestra in which each instrument has its own note and its own motif. It is difficult—believe me, and I have had some experience, even though not very much—to be the conductor of such an orchestra. The more so as it does not have rehearsals and is always before the public, so that every wrong note is heard throughout the country. But I am convinced that we can work together, work hand in hand like one orchestra, setting the tone for the whole country. For the sake of the cause of the people, for the sake of perestroyka: only together, and only forward! Thank you very much. [applause]

Interviewed on Congress Results

LD1703174890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0730 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Interview with Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by Andrey Skryabin; date, place not given; live or recorded—from the "Videokanal" program]

[Text] [Skryabin] Anatoliy Ivanovich, the latest third Congress of USSR People's Deputies has ended. How do you assess its results?

[Lukyanov] I think that it was a great Congress, a serious one, a solid one, and very major decisions were made. This is so not only because of the presidency being introduced in the Soviet Union, but because the president has proposed a very broad program of measures, major measures, both in the economic sphere and in the social sphere. Very serious mesures have been proposed to establish order in the country—in this connection we receive many letters; this is a complicated question; this worries our people very much. Also proposed were major measures to resolve the nationalities question.

That is to say, everything must be taken together: first, the introduction of the presidency, which will combine both legislative and executive power. This is infrequently spoken of in our country: It is precisely a matter of combining, coordinating the two powers, which will be represented by the president of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, there is the program, the program itself set forth by the president. That is why this is a great, serious congress. It seems to me that it will also considerably consolidate our society, revealing all facets of our development; at the same time this is a congress of consolidation. These healthy forces, constructive forces at the congress, from my point of view, have manifestly gained a great victory. This is very important.

[Skryabin] Well, you have touched upon the presidency. What will be the importance, in your view, of the introduction of the post of president for the political, economic, and social development of our country and of our federation?

[Lukyanov] The presidency has not come about all at once. Many proposals were submited, and at the first stage we believed that a president could not at once be incorporated in our Soviet system, of republics and soviets. But now, the law which has passed will make it possible to precisely incorporate a president into the system of republics and soviets. This is very important, because the president will have a combination of legislative and executive functions. He will do this through the Council of the Federation, a big body which will unite all forces and all representatives of the republics, the highest state representatives of the republics and of the autonomous republics, among others—they wil be able to participate in this matter—and, on the other hand, through the Presidential Council. Thus the president will personify all the powers which make it possible to vigorously implement the decisions and laws of the congresses of people's deputies. This means that the system in the transition period which the country is now going through will become more stable—this is a complicated period, a period aggravated by a number of conflicts, and in these conditions it is necessary that presidential rule should offer the possibility of consolidating society. This is very essential.

[Skryabin] Well, changes are taking place in the structure of power, and it affects, of course, also the Supreme Soviet. What, in your view, is the Supreme Soviet's place and role in the new power structure?

[Lukyanov] Presidential rule has not affected any powers of the Congress of People's Deputies or the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet will exercise supreme legislative power. This is a very large realm of work, very complicated. It will suffice to say that we have now in our portfolio some 50 major draft laws, two of which were adopted right before the congress, namely the Law on Ownership in the USSR and the Law on Land. Well, nearing completion are such laws as the Law on Local Self-Government and the Law on Taxation. From my point of view, everything must be done in the near future to adopt a pension law, which the entire country is waiting for; there are also a whole range of acts regarding women and young people, and at the same time acts which will be connected both with establishing order in the country, with strengthening the prerogatives of the law enforcement bodies, and with resolving a whole host of social questions, political questions, so that the Supreme Soviet will be above all a legislative body.

At the same time, I would say that we must still master, really master, the supervisory functions of the Supreme

Soviet: as regards supervision of the work of the government, so that the committees and commissions should work well and vigorously here, so that on the whole the entire potential of this complicated orchestra which the Supreme Soviet is, should be switched on and that it produces the right, correct-sounding melody.

It is very difficult to arrange this, but I think that the Supreme Soviet should work as an active legislative body and as a very active supervisory organ. Here the interaction will be organized both with the president and with the government. So there are certain changes in the line-up of forces in the highest echelon of power, but from my point of view, they will only raise the effectiveness of the exercise of power in our country.

[Skryabin] Today we are speaking a great deal about the renewal of our federation, including at the congress; this was very seriously discussed at the congress. To what extent, in your view, is a renewal of the federation topical, and what do you expect from the USSR Supreme Soviet in this renewed federation?

[Lukyanov] I think the introduction of presidential rule in our country will be one of the very important levers by which the Soviet federation is renewed and strengthened. From my point of view, here, in this sphere, we are to work very thoroughly. Lots of questions have accumulated. Much has come to us as an echo from the past. Much has newly arisen, and these questions must be resolved, many knots untied. Above all—and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke of this in his introductory address after taking the oath—[this] will depend on the adoption of a law, a new law on renewal of the union treaty. It is necessary to renew the union law.

We think there will be two layers of powers there: A layer of powers of the union, of firmly established powers, which will be given up by the union republics so that our federation is able to exist in a full-blooded way as a union of sovereign republics; and other powers either shared with the union or powers of the union republics themselves. Thus, within the sphere of shared relations, there evidently will be such a floating structure of competence.

Here, for various republics, various treaty relations, a different degree of federalization may be established, and this will have to be very thoroughly worked on. In accordance with the instructions of the congress, the Supreme Soviet will start examining these complicated questions next week. At the same time, a law on the procedure to leave the union, a law on the procedure to implement Article 72 of the Constitution has already been prepared and is being studied in commissions; it will then be [submitted] to the Supreme Soviet.

At the same time, a law on languages, on the equality of languages, a law on the rights of a citizen of any nationality, no matter what republic he lives in, has been prepared—that is, a whole series of laws which will on the one hand strengthen our federation and, on the other hand, broaden and fill with new content the competence and powers of each republic. This is also something very substantial and I think that in this sense presidential power will operate in great unity with the Supreme Soviet and the government—that is, they will work together in tandem so that every people and every person of any nationality should live well in our country and feel, throughout the whole territory of our country, that they have the chance to fully implement their civic rights.

[Skryabin] Anatoliy Ivanovich, thank you for finding the time to reply to our program's questions, and allow me to take advantage of the opportunity to congratulate you on your election to this lofty post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Lukyanov] I thank you, although this is a very difficult and complicated task. But I think I would also like to express the wish to your program, a program which will be concerned with interethnic relations, that it should approach these relations as a very sensitive, living, and complicated organism, and that our television should help make our union more cohesive. I think our television, our press, radio, and mass media have great opportunities for this, provided that they adopt a sensitive approach, provided that they examine attentively the situation in each region. We expect that from our radio and television. That will be a great help.

[Skryabin] Thank you; we also see that that is where our task lies.

Speech on Election

PM1603172590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Speech by A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "'Only Together and Only Onward'"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Esteemed comrade president! Esteemed comrade deputies! First and foremost allow me to express my profound gratitude for the great trust which you have vested in me by electing me chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I will make every effort to justify this most supreme trust which imposes a high responsibility on me. Almost a year ago I made a speech from this platform about the tasks facing the Supreme Soviet and our Congress. We said then that it was necessary to put an end to the pro forma, submissive, ceremonial position of the supreme organ of power. We said that a working, exacting organ should be set up to enable a whole range of viewpoints and positions to be revealed, that there should be no question which could not be considered by the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, and that we must work with glasnost, in view of the masses, and in close collaboration with working people. We also mentioned major tasks in the sphere of legislation and other aspects of Supreme Soviet activity.

If we look at what has been accomplished over this period from today's vantage point, we have every reason to say that a great deal has nonetheless been accomplished. The USSR Supreme Soviet—a body that is not subservient, formed in the Stalinist-Brezhnevian model, or, what is more, merely ceremonial—is gaining momentum. In the last 10 months the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet have adopted 28 sizeable laws and more than 220 resolutions. I must say that a great many new and major elements have emerged in our work, although there have also been a considerable number of difficulties.

At the same time we must of course do a great deal more than we have done. What points would I like to make in this brief speech following my election?

First, now that we are really conscious of the existence of a multiparty system, it is exceptionally important to organize the Supreme Soviet's works so as to ensure that, on the one hand, maximum use is made of the positive force inherent in political pluralism and, on the other, that there is reduced scope for the tension which it generates. Here we need to be patient and tolerant of our opponent's opinion and able to recognize when our opponents are right. People have said that it will not always prove possible to stick, so to speak, to equal relations. I think that the platform adopted by my party—the Communist Party—for the 28th CPSU Congress urges us to ensure that our party's representatives maintain constant dialogue with all forces which favor perestroyka.

It is said that anyone who is not inclined to radicalism in his youth has no heart. And anyone who is not devoted to conservatism in his mature years lacks a brain. This aphorism, like any other, is, of course, arbitrary. But you will agree that the Supreme Soviet must combine both in its work—both mature brains and youthful radicalism. In short, we need democracy in action.

Second, never before has the Supreme Soviet experienced such an urgent need for a most scrupulous analysis of the state and prospects for the development of interethnic relations. We saw this during our discussion at the Congress. I believe that the work of the Supreme Soviet can only be successful when there is sincere respect for the opinion of every nation and every ethnic group and their representatives. Much depends here on us people's deputies. It seems to me the comrades were right when they talked about the need to step up the work of the chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—and about unionwide and ethnic interests being expressed on both sides. Then it will be possible in the very near future to adopt a law on overhauling the Union Treaty, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev mentioned in his speech today, and it will be possible to proceed along this path in lawmaking. In short, we need internationalism in action.

Third, the Supreme Soviet is daily faced with the enormously important matter of developing legislation. Certainly, legislation is needed, but we have to legislate, as Lenin taught, with the utmost care. It seems to me that we miss a great deal even when we look before we leap. Sometimes we pass abstract, unprofessional laws without a properly thought-out mechanism for applying them. By getting away from this we will probably become much more professional. The Supreme Soviet must display greater and greater professionalism in action.

Fourth, the introduction of the institution of the presidency and the entire debate at the Congress compel us to create a new relationship both with the president and with the government. It seems to me that we still have a lot to do here because the Supreme Soviet's supervisory functions have grown flabby. The Supreme Soviet itself, its committees, and the chambers' permanent commissions are making a poor job of it. We must have strong and effective supervision. Real supervision.

Finally, it seems to me that each of us and the Supreme Soviet as a whole must master the art of responding as best as we can to the challenge of the times. We must learn to integrate and, I would say, muster and accumulate the experience of each of our comrades—worker and kolkhoz [collective farm] member, engineer and scientist, physician and cultural figure. Then we will learn how to draw the right conclusions from what we are reflecting on and tackling. Then there will be no attempts to make it into a game of soccer, to see which team can score the goal. We must work as a single team, as a single orchestra, in which each instrument has its own music. It is hard, I can tell you from my own limited experience, to be the conductor of that orchestra, particularly as there are no rehearsals and it is always performing in public. This means that every false note is audible throughout the country. But I am convinced that we can work together, work hand in hand, as a single orchestra, setting the tone for the entire country—for the cause of the people, for perestroyka. Forever together and forever forward! Thank you very much. (Applause).

Deputies Discuss Lithuanian Situation

Maslyukov Address

LD1603181690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2241 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Speech by Yuriy D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at the 15 March session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade President, esteemed congress, allow me to dwell on just the economic aspects of this problem. In the event that Lithuania leaves the federation, a whole range of questions arise which I think you should bear in mind before making a decision.

The first question is the attitude to all-union property. Taking account of the limited amount of time available, I shall tell you that according to our calculations—which are corroborated by the fact that they take into account the relationship between consumed and produced national income which is calculated in the same way all the time—Lithuania owes to all the republics of the USSR about 6 billion rubles [R]. Further, if one tackles the question of the disruption of economic links,—if this question is raised and it will inevitably follow because Lithuania has announced that it is to change the structure of its industry and that means a change in its ties—and thus, there will be irretrievable losses that may occur for the economy of Lithuania and the republics that you represent of about R14 billion.

Further, if there is a change to settling payments in freely convertible currency, then Lithuania will have a negative balance every year of R3.7 billion.

The next question, if we speak about the internal debts that the USSR has today, then Lithuania has been living within the USSR for 50 years and, of course, Lithuania cannot fail to understand that a part of the debt falls to it, too. This is assessed at about R6.3 billion in Soviet rubles and about R600 million in freely convertible currency.

The next question. In making the decision it is essential to bear in mind,—this has already been mentioned here,—but we have calculated very seriously what will happen if even 40 or 50 percent of the Russian-speaking or Polish-speaking or other section of the population which still does not speak Lithuanian wishes to remain within the borders of the USSR, then Lithuania is obliged to compensate them, and I think that this is quite legitimate, it is liable for compensation of about R5.5 billion in order for these people to receive new housing, jobs, and for their costs to be reimbursed.

The next question arises in connection with the fact that the dismantling of the military equipment which is patently hinted at in their latest decisions of 10 and 12 March, the dismantling of military equipment of our air defense system and other networks of the Ministry of the Armed Forces, will require about R3 billion in expenditures.

With regard to transport communications, then by the decision that Lithuania proposes and which has been adopted today, of course Kalingrad Oblast of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic will be totally cut off and this will cause incalculable harm and difficulties in supplying and providing for this oblast.

Thus, comrades, if one takes as the guideline the size of the economic loss that will be caused to the national economy, then this is about R18-20 billion. This is equal to the sum of the national income of today's Lithuania for two years.

The final figure. I would like to note that about R50 billion has been invested in the development of the national economy of Lithuania and in 1988 alone, this figure was R3.2 billion. From 1940 up to the present, the indices in Lithuania for output of industrial production are three times higher than the all-union indices, even though it was the poorest republic which entered the USSR and the national income per head of population in Lithuania, today, is the highest of all.

With regard to what the comrades are counting on, I cannot but quote to you the message to Comrade Ryzhkov from the president, sorry, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic. It says: To Mr. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, which on 11 March, 1990, restored the Lithuanian state, puts the proposal to the government of the USSR that until such time as the economic relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR are determined by bilateral treaties, the existing economic links should be maintained and should be guided by the existing obligations.

The next question. I have in front of me an article which was published by the commission for the independence of Lithuania. I shall quote only one paragraph. What are the intentions of using the national economy of the USSR in the future? The main strategy in the foreign economic links of Lithuania should comprise the following: The continuing import of the main raw materials and fuel from the USSR—there you have it—mastering progressive equipment and technology primarily by means of creating joint enterprises with Western countries, and exporting mainly to the East but as the level rises, then to the West.

That is, the logic is quite clear and on the basis of this, I would like to cite one more figure, comrades. When we speak about the national economy of Lithuania and when the Lithuanian comrades speak, and they all speak about agriculture, saying that Lithuania's agriculture is the jewel which will, so to say, ensure the normal existence of the Lithuanian state. Allow me to cite a figure. All of agriculture comprises a loss for our budget of R172 million a year. If, if, the Lithuanian population bought the meat it produces and consumed it, then it would cost R8,000 per tonne. The international price is R1,600. But, moreover, all that it receives from the USSR it receives at half the world market price. [bell rings] I am finishing. I consider that the question of determining the degree of severity in the decision that you will adopt should be determined first of all by the fact that this has been done in a provocative manner, that this has been done extremely hastily, and that this has been done, comrades, behind the back of the congress which assembled to discuss the most important questions.

That is the most important thing, but as far the decision is concerned, I would advise the comrades who asked questions—expressing regret, so to speak, that harsh decisions are being proposed—I would advise them to spend 10 days in Lithuania, to talk to people, and when they seize your hand and ask: Tell us what is to happen to us when Lithuania leaves the USSR, where are we to run to, will you cast us aside or not. On behalf of the government, I would like to say that we do not intend to cast these people aside. Therefore, you decide, that is your right and duty. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Petrushenko Speech

LD1603153290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2158 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Speech by Deputy Petrushenko at 15 March session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow - recorded]

[Text] Esteemed president, esteemed comrades. First I would like to express words of regret that there are no deputies from the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in our hall, for I am grateful to them for the good lesson they taught us at the first congress. In any matter I respect professionalism, and as a professional propaganda worker I will without fail make use of the opportunity to inform Comrade Medvedev that such an undemocratic procedure as stamping the passport of electors was introduced by the bourgeois government of Lithuania long before Soviet troops were brought into the territory of independent Lithuania, and long before it was accepted into the USSR. [applause]

In my view, the situation which has arisen in the Baltic area today, I think, requires the adoption precisely by the congress, for it is not right for us deputies to hide behind the back of the president, particularly a newly elected one. Having weighed up all the pros and cons I come to the conclusion that this situation should be regarded as a situation when, in a large and strong family, little children get up to mischief, taking advantage of the fact that their parents are busy with a major, difficult matter. [laughter] And I think that when the elder brothers and the parents turn to the younger sons, then the children will not even inherit enough money to buy an ice cream.

I think that it is necessary to adopt a calm and restrained attitude to it, first of all because I am concerned by two factors. These are the appeal by the Congress of Estonia for the introduction of a foreign military contingent, and the destabilising factor which is being introduced into the Army ranks by the fact that, as I have learned, citizens of Lithuanian nationality have begun to desert from the ranks of the armed forces. I would like the Lithuanian deputies present here to weigh up all these pros and cons and to correctly understand that if the Army is not calm, then the country is not calm, and to prevent us, by appealing to their own sons, from having to take such a necessary, enforced, but far from good measure as bringing in, to search for deserters, units of paratroops, which of course will seek them out, if that is necessary, on farms and in the squares of the capital.

I think that we should seek out not what divides us but what unites us. We are united with the Lithuanian people by many centuries of history and I am convinced that the draft document which has been presented can and should be adopted. But I would like to stress two aspects. In 1940, Lithuania entered on definite conditions. These conditions were acceptance into the USSR and the return to them of six rayons of neighboring Belorussia, and subsequently the territory of Vilna and the port of Klaipeda. So, if one is to speak about secession from the USSR then inevitably there will arise the juridical bases for separating these territories. Perhaps one can ask international experts. But, you comrades from Lithuania can understand very well that in this way we, ourselves, are provoking a redrawing of previously set borders and thereby the results of the second world war.

I was most unwilling to make this address because the elimination of these fundamental conditions, I repeat once again, follow or lead to the juridical bases. On the basis of Aricle 176 I would request the senior member of the Lithuanian delegation to give a clarification of a question which greatly worries me. In volume IV of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, if my memory does not let me down—and my memory does not let me down—in Vilnius there were only five percent of Lithuanians. And since there are juridical bases, and the soviet of Nationalities and the Committee for Overseeing the Constitution must really be instructed to examine them, and since the capital, Vilnius, will be separated from Lithuania, I would like to know where, on what farm, we intend to conduct talks with the great Soviet Union. [applause]

Ivanov Talk

LD1603133290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2128 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Speech by Deputy Vitaliy Pavlovich Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, at 15 March session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade chairman, esteemed comrade president of the Soviet Union, esteemed comrades, peoples deputies. We are discussing an important question today, but I cannot omit to speak about the historic event which has been adopted at our congress. I would like, on behalf of all the men of the Soviet Army and fleet, and on my own behalf, sincerely to congratulate you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, on your election to the post of president of the Soviet Union, and to wish you great success in your activity for the good of our great homeland, and good health. [applause]

Comrade, at this historic third Congress of Peoples Deputies, we men of the Army and Navy would like to say once again that the Soviet Army and Navy will always be with our people, firmly defend their security, raise their combat readiness, and just as before, will, in case of need, give our people political, economic, and social help. I understand what a great burden, what vast responsibility to the deputies and to the Soviet people and to the whole world Mikhail Segeyevich has taken upon himself. I am sure, comrades, that Mikhail Segeyevich will be totally loyal to his oath and will do everything to fulfil his obligations as president of the Soviet Union, and at a high standard.

But the historic event in the life of our country has been clouded by the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian republic to secede from the USSR. At the same time, the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania does not say within what borders, from what year Lithuania intends to be, how questions of security will be resolved, how the republic will settle its accounts with the Soviet Union and with the other republics, how it will pay back the state expenditure, even for the military facilities on which several tens of thousands of millions of rubles have been spent, and much else.

I ask the question: Who benefits from Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union. I think we should speak honestly and frankly. We have had enough playing up to and feeling sorry for those who do not feel sorry for us. I think that this is to the advantage, above all, to political extremists who are grabbing at, and who have already grabbed party and state power in the Lithuanian Republic, but it is not at all to the advantage of the Lithuanian people. What we see here is not the egotism of a nation but the egotism of the leadership of the republic, and Sajudis [Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring]. This is not only political blindness on the part of Sajudis, and the party and state leadership of Lithuania, but it is also political and human betrayal of their people and the peoples of the Soviet Union. This is betrayal of the living and dead defenders of Soviet Lithuania.

Under the banner of the struggle for the restoration of the sovereignty of Lithuania, they are striving to destroy the alliance of cooperation and fraternal relations between the Soviet republics, to sow hostility and distrust between the Soviet peoples, and thus achieve the liquidation of the basic achievements of the people of Lithuania during the years of Soviet power in the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres.

I consider this to be a stab in the back of our Soviet people. It is a stab in the back of perestroyka. It is a blow to economic and political reforms in our country, a blow to the defense capacity of our state and to the fate of hundreds of thousands of people. This decision by the first session of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania encroaches upon the legitimate rights of other republics and of the Union, and threatens harm and suffering, encroaches upon human and juridical rights of the people of Lithuania and other peoples. And finally, it threatens and places in a very difficult position Kaliningrad Oblast which, given such a decision by Lithuania, is cut off and isolated from the Soviet Union. All of this is stated and written in thousands of letters and telegrams addressed to the Congress.

Deputies from Lithuania are fighting for legality, for the observation of the Constitution, but at the same time deputies from Lithuania have most crudely trampled the right of the Lithuanian people to express their will.

I am coming to a close. I propose: first, that the third Congress of Peoples Deputies, our congress, should adopt a decision to countermand the decision of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania and to adopt a decision on the necessity of holding a referendum, a nationwide vote by the inhabitants of Lithuania on the question of secession from the Soviet Union. Second, I consider that the unilateral decision made without a referendum of their people by the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania to secede from the Soviet Union gives us the right to adopt such a decision. Third, in order to ensure total freedom of the expression of the people of Lithuania and to prevent any pressure in preparing, holding, and determining the results of the referendum, to have on the territory of Lithuania as observers, plenipotentiary representatives of the Soviet Union and other republics, representatives of foreign states and international organizations. Third, [as heard] the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union should urgently draft and adopt a law on the procedure for resolving questions connected with the secession of a Union republic from the Soviet Union, and a law on demarcating the powers of the USSR and the Union republics as an urgent law. Finally, to decide the question of allocation—I am just finishing—a territorial corridor for communication between Kaliningrad Oblast and our homeland, the USSR.

Defense Industry Minister on Illegal Tank Sale

LD1603155190 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] At the Congress of People's Deputies in the Soviet Union, the matter of the joint participation of the Ministry of the Defense Industry in the dealings of the cooperative concern ANT, which attempted to illegally sell battle tanks abroad, was raised. A Radio Moscow correspondent asked Minister Boris Belousov to explain this matter.

Boris Belousov stated that those tanks were allocated to the production and scientific union (Vzlet) of the Ministry of the Radio Industry by the factory's director (Vladimir Sieryakov). The (Vzlet) union motivated this order by a so-called sanction of the government. That very letter was the basis for the shipment of tanks.

[Begin recording] [Belousov in Russian, with superimposed Polish translation] How did that happen? There are several reasons. The first was (Sieryakov's) lack of experience; he had been director for hardly two months. He was appointed to that post by way of a competition. The financial situation of the workforce is difficult. It was Director (Sieryakov's) duty to check the order, to read it through personally, to be able to convince himself that it was a specific question of a shipment of tanks. He didn't do that. The goods were sent and they have been found in Novorossiysk. The Ministry of the Defense Industry has drawn the relevant conclusions from that incident. I also think that it won't happen again.

[Interviewer] It results from all this that we're talking about the falsification of documents.

[Belousov] Moreover, not about normal falsification, but about the falsification of government documents, as in the quotation there were the words: As per the order, and the order number was quoted, whereas that order was for other goods, Boris Belousov emphasized.

[Interviewer] Is the production and scientific union, (Vzlet), precisely that concern ANT?

[Belousov] No, the union procured the tanks to sell them to the concern. Criminal proceedings have been started on this matter, Boris Belousov said. [end recording]

Political & Social

Gorbachev Gives Closing Speech at Plenum

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["M.S. Gorbachev's Speech at the 16 March CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Chairman Comrade M.S. Gorbachev. Comrades, now I should probably give the floor to Comrade Razumovskiy to speak on behalf of the Editing Commission.

Before that, however, I should like to make a short summing-up of the debate which has taken place over these days at the plenum on questions of fundamental importance for the life of the party. In summing up the course of the debate and the critical remarks which have been heard here, I would single out such points as the following.

First, concerning the Platform of the CPSU Central Committee. It has been made public and is already being discussed in the party and in society. What was said about it here, including those statements which highlighted weaknesses in particular tenets, I regard as part of the pre-congress debate, as a contribution to efforts to finalize for the party congress a draft platform taking account both of those views which are already known and those yet to be voiced, and to submit this for discussion by the congress. I believe that if we take account of these remarks and the results of the whole debate to be held on the eve of the congress, we shall end up with a party program document responding to realities and providing confident prospects for party activity. Bearing in mind that the CPSU is not renouncing its political vanguard role and is striving through its party documents to set out a program of activity, its views on how we see the prospects for development—then what society will receive will be a document of great importance.

That's my reaction to that part of the debate. That's the first point.

Second, concerning the Rules. My feeling is that nobody was wholly doubtful about the draft now under discussion at the Central Committee plenum, that nobody has said that in content and in form it is such as to need to be thrown out.

There is a good basis here. Many people commented that the draft took in what had already been put forward and expressed in party organizations. There were comrades asking who wrote it and where the author was. They are probably cobbling together, so to speak, the pre-prestroyka stereotypes: It again apppears to all that one person alone wrote it, and so forth. But in my report, I announced how many alternative variants of the Rules and Central Committee received. They were all the subject of discussion in the commissions of the Central Committee and in the Politburo. In addition, many letters were received containing comments and suggestions of party organizations and communists. This is why I think that the comrades will concur that one cannot agree with arguments to the effect that this is one sort of closet document drawn up, so to speak, by the inner cabinet.

Nevertheless, although there is indeed a basis, the written comments which have been received, and what was voiced at the plenum in the speeches by members of the Central Committee, secretaries of party committees, and especially secretaries of town and rayon committees, whom we invited here, shows that this basis needs to be seriously enhanced.

I took notes while listening to the speeches. A number of aspects which, it seems to me, should be borne in mind were voiced particularly strongly in them. All this must be thought over, and it is evident that we shall not completely finish work on the draft at the Central Committee plenum today. We must, however, come to agreement on further work, on how we shall work on the draft and how we shall coordinate the fundamental things which need to find reflection—so that this should not be, so to speak, some invention by the drafting commission or the Politburo.

Summing up the discussion on the draft Rules, I should like to single out what we nevertheless did dwell upon—to summarize the comments which drew my particular attention and which are in my opinion of fundamental importance.

First and foremost, comrades advocated revising the preamble, defining in it precisely the final goal which the party is setting itself and is putting before society, to what it is summoning the people.

Speakers also expressed themselves in favor of designating more precisely the ideological foundations upon which the party will act and which it will defend. This is very important, because it is a matter of guidelines for communists which they are also proposing to the whole of society.

Comrades went on to advocate that the ideas of democratizing the party should penetrate all sections of the Rules, that this should be stressed more strongly in the clauses about the highest ranks of the party and be reflected in the clauses about raising the role of the communist parties of union republics and so on.

But the most important thing is that the Rules should more clearly formulate and implementr Lenin's conception of the way in which democratizing of the party should actually manifest itself—namely in the affirmation (through the Rules, through their principles) of the power of the party masses. You may have noticed that we have striven to achieve this. The influence of communists should be such that they themselves decide questions relating to the election of delegates who draft decisions on all party matters. This is written into the draft. From the communists we have taken on the idea of electing the leaders of the party (at all levels) at meetings, conferences, and congresses. Admittedly, there were some who feared that this might create a situation where there would eventually be no control over these people. That is certainly possible. But, nevertheless, communists insist that they themselves should decide the question of secretaries at their meetings or through delegates whom they have elected by districts or in the primary organizations. They insist that they themselves should choose the people who will lead them for this or that period of time. We probably should (if we are committed to the idea of power being held by the party masses) to at least leave this for discussion, in spite of the fact that some people have their doubts about this.

Finally, I have a feeling that the comrades, including those who support the idea of a new wording for the principles of democracy, discipline, and democratic centralism, still do not agree with the idea that the very concept of "democratic centralism" is being removed from the draft rules.

(Voices) (animation in the auditorium)

(Gorbachev) We must adopt a stance. Even given the overall approval of the approaches enshrined in the new Rules, I can see that the Central Committee plenum would like to retain the term in the Rules.

(Voices) Yes.

(Gorbachev) I should like to run through a number of other fundamental issues. We have discussed in the Politburo whether to retain the possibility of creating parallel structures within the party in the Rules. I believed and still do believe that this must not lead to a breakdown in the structure of the party. Of course, however, the most varied forms of party work may exist, and what we have put in writing has already been used in practice for many years. Even when I was still working in the party organization of Stavropol Kray, there were councils of secretaries, associations of party organizations according to place of residence, etc. Perhaps, therefore, we should give a more precise formulation: It is not a matter of structures but rather, as Comrade Ruzhitskiy said, of forms of work. I do not think we should remove this topic altogether, since it gives the party organizations a chance to make use of a wide range of approaches to step up party activity. In a word, I am opposed to permitting parallel structures but in favor of underlining a variety of forms of work.

Now, it has been noted here that the primary party organization does not "register" sufficiently in the draft Rules, while the desire that it should has been expressed at meetings with the party aktiv and with the secretaries of the party committees. Comrade Sivets spoke about it today as well, in her fine speech.

We did, however, have a version of the draft Rules which mentioned this in detail and many secretaries who came to the Central Committee said, "You're giving detailed prescriptions for the primary organizations in the Rules again." The absence of such prescriptions would mean giving them an opportunity to act. Only fundamental political and ideological guidelines are necessary, and then let the party organizations operate independently.

It is for this reason that it is necessary to define our position. We can of course set out in detail the rights and obligations of the primary organizations and of the communist, but this, comrades, would look like instructions about what they are to do every day. And that is what you are against. I think that it is necessary to avoid extremes and not to embark on a path of writing down detailed instructions—that is the worst option, but certainly not to turn the Rules into an instruction, either.

I think that, in the draft, we have unsuccessfully recorded the right to withdraw from the CPSU.

(Voices) Yes.

(M.S. Gorbachev) This is a voluntary organization, and it envisages that one can leave it voluntarily, too. This is logical. It is a different matter that communists cannot take this attitude to every case of withdrawal: "He has left. Goodbye!" Such cases must be the subject of discussion by the primary party organization. I do not think that this must be described every time as exclusion from the party, but such a case must be condemned, and the party organization must draw conclusions from this and make its decision. If you agree, it must be recorded in such a manner that the party does not appear to be a "through-route [prokhodnoy dvor]."

I think that Comrade Churilov has successfully noted a great deal: One or two phrases must be added so that all the clauses contain at least a hint of a mechanism for implementing the requirements of the Rules. In one case the report-back, in another electibility, in a third case subjection to control, and so on. The Rules require additional work in this sense.

Beyond the framework of the Rules themselves, but in this context: the commission on preparation for the 28th congress. We have a Central Committee commission. But perhaps we should do it that way—and set up a commission under the CPSU Central Committee, to include the secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist parties of the union republics, oblast, kray, okrug, city, and rayon party committees, primary organizations, and simply active communists who have something to say.

I think that would be a consultative, but democratic representative body, though which will go all the mail and suggestions coming in from the party organizations. This will ensure that the communists have no suspicions that everything has gone to the apparat and disappeared somewhere. On the basis of your instructions, the Politburo could form such a commission, taking the suggestions of the party organizations into account.

As regards Russia: What was stated in the report must be implemented, so as to channel the preparation and the processes that have arisen in the party organizations of Russia. We have no right to evade this; the Central Committee must respond and unite our efforts. We cannot show a lack of respect for such an enormous detachment of communists. I would therefore treat this as an independent question and propose adopting a brief, principled decision.

Finally, we shall have to adopt a document on report-backs and elections. On the question of when to hold them, opinions are divided "fifty-fifty" as they say—half and half...or should they be before the congress?

(Voices) Before.

(Gorbachev) I came back from the recess, opened my briefcase—telegrams. With few exceptions, everyone feels that this should be done after the congress. Perhaps the "judgement of Solomon" is to give the local party organizations the right to decide for themselves? After all, they know best. That will have to be settled at the plenum.

Finally, a third matter. Naturally, at this plenum, as at the February one, there is a great sense of dissatisfaction with the way we are operating at the present historical phase of the development of society and of the party itself.

I personally am deeply worried about this. I take it seriously and I feel responsible. Although I am also willing to support Comrade Niyazov, who has said that we must act altogether in concert. I think it was Comrade Chikin from the Minsk watch factory who said that we are ready "to come out of the trenches." That we have even come out, but which way do we have to go into the attack? The idea was a correct one. This means that we, the Politburo, the Secretariat of the Central Committee, the entire Central Committee, must take upon ourselves a considerable share of the responsibility for what has been criticized here.

There is one thing I can say: One must not lose any time now. It is not being counted in years, nor even in months any longer, but in weeks. Therefore one must work hard to consolidate the party and to hold our congress—which will be of fateful significance for the party and, by virtue of its role, for the future of perestroyka, and the whole of society—in a good atmosphere.

I would like to assure the comrades who spoke here and who made critical remarks: Although it is not at all easy to listen to them, we do take them in. We have to take them in.

A considerable part of the critical remarks uttered here do, of course, reflect the discussion, the comparison of points of view. Not everything can be fully accepted. Some people are not in tune with the present time, do not think about the party in the context of today's development of internal and external processes. An adherence to dogmas, an ossification of consciousness, is making itself felt. We have to overcome this in ourselves, to move forward, interpreting dialectically and on the basis of Leninist principles both the time in which we live and the goals to which we are calling our society.

There is something here that already reflects the pre-congress discussion. I think that this will be dealt with at the 28th congress itself, too. You cannot get away from that.

I think that we should now consolidate on principled ideological positions, on the policy of perestroyka. And if the situation in the primary party organization, in the city and oblast organization, in the party as a whole, requires this, then the process of demarcation should go ahead. For we are advancing on certain positions, on the platform proposed for the congress, and on the principles laid down in the Rules. That is what I wanted to say about the outcome of the discussion. Now I give the floor to Comrade Razumovskiy.

CPSU To Hold 28th Congress 2 July

LD1603192490 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—The plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee that ended here today chose a date for the convocation of the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and adopted resolutions about the election campaign in the party, the representation ratio and the procedure for the election of delegates to the congress.

It was decided to convene the extraordinary 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow on July 2, 1990.

The congress will discuss questions about the course of perestroyka and the tasks of the party. Soviet Communist Party chief Mikhail Gorbachev will deliver a report from the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. The delegates will hear a report from the Central Auditing Commission of the Soviet Communist Party.

The agenda includes items about the platform of the Soviet Communist Party "For Humane, Democratic

Socialism," about the rules of the Soviet Communist Party, and the provision about the Central Auditing Commission of the Soviet Communist Party.

The delegates to the 28th Congress will elect the central bodies of the party.

The ratio of representation at the congress has been established: One delegate will represent 4,000 party members.

The plenum deems it necessary to conduct elections of delegates to the party congress on a broad democratic basis, in the atmosphere of competitiveness.

The election of delegates to party conferences and congresses of republican parties will be determined by plenums of corresponding party committees.

The elections and the party's preparations for the congress should establish the various viewpoints of communists and be conducted with respect towards any opinion, allowing the minority to express their attitudes.

Preparations for the 28th Party Congress must help rally communists ideologically and organizationally, enhance the efficiency of every party organisation, consolidate the vanguard role of the Soviet Communist Party in society and lead to the intensification of its activity in solving tasks to deepen perestroyka, the plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee emphasized.

Plenum Decision on CPSU Congress Published

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["On the Timetable for Convening the 28th CPSU Congress, Holding the Report and Election Campaign in the Party, the Norm of Representation, and the Procedure for Electing Congress Delegates"]

[Text]

1. The decision of the September 1989 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is changed, and the 28th ordinary congress of the CPSU will now be held on 2 July 1990 in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow.

2. The following questions are to be submitted for examination by the congress:

2.1 The progress of restructuring and the tasks of the party. The report of the CPSU Central Committee. The speaker will be Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

2.2 The report of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU. The speaker will be comrade A.A. Nizovtseva, deputy chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU.

2.3 The CPSU's platform for "humane, democratic socialism."

2.4 The CPSU's rules.

2.5 The clause relating to the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPSU.

2.6 Election of the party's central bodies.

It is deemed expedient for questions connected with the platform and rules of the CPSU to be stated in the report on item one.

3. The quota of representation at the 28th CPSU Congress is set at one delegate for every 4,000 party members.

4. It is considered necessary to hold the election of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress on a broad democratic basis, in an situation of competitiveness and alternative candidatures, and with direct participation of all communists.

The plenum shall adopt proposals on the procedure for the election of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress as drawn up by the CPSU Central Committee's Commission on Party Construction and Cadres Policy on the basis of the proposals of the party organizations, communists, and non-party members. (see appendix)

The lists of delegates elected in accordance with the adopted procedures are to be compiled and submitted to the 28th CPSU Congress by the oblast and kray party conferences, and congresses of union republic communist parties, by oblast party conferences in the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, and Kazakh Communist Parties, and in Moscow by the rayon conferences of the CPSU.

Communists who are members of party organizations in the Soviet Army, Navy, Internal, and Frontier Troops will elect delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress at party conferences of their respective units, services, and branches of the Armed Forces.

Communists who are members of Soviet institutions abroad will elect delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress at their own party conference, to be held in Moscow.

5. The procedure and dates for the holding of the report-back and election campaign in the party organisations are to established by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics and by the kray and oblast committees of the CPSU in the RSFSR.

The procedure for elections of delegates to city (in cities with a rayon structure), district, oblast, and kray party conferences and congresses of the union republics' Communist Parties are determined by the plenums of the appropriate party committees. It is recommended during the elections of delegates to the conferences and congresses and the formation of party bodies to use the approaches established by the present decisions for elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and the regulations of the draft of the new rules of the CPSU.

6. With the aim of democraticizing the elections of delegates to the conferences and congresses and also the elections of leading party bodies it is determined that:

Those who receive the greatest number of votes in relation to the other candidates, but more than half of the votes of CPSU members participating in the meeting, conference and congress delegates,and members of the party committee or other electoral organ, will be considered elected;

The party meeting, conference, or congress which is the highest body of the appropriate party organization or Communist Party has the right to decide the question of the election of the first secretary (secretary) of the party committee or other elected official by the whole composition of the meeting, conference, or congress. At the same time the procedure for replacing a given elected official in the future is to be established.

These regulations are to be followed until the new CPSU rules are adopted.

7. The state of affairs in party organizations and measures for fundamental improvement of party work are to be profoundly and thoroughly examined at the report-back and election meetings, conferences and congresses of the Communist Parties of the union republics, and the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress and the CPSU rules are to be discussed.

It is important that the report-back and election meetings and the whole of the preparation for the party congress make it possible to bring out various viewpoints of communists and be held in the spirit of respect for any opinion and for the right of a minority to express its position. It is necessary to provide for the constructive character of meetings, conferences and congresses, and for collective working out of proposals on the cardinal issues of the role and activity of the party in society, democratization of its internal life, and consolidation of the party masses' power.

Preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress ought to assist the ideological and organizational consolidation of communists, the enhancement of the competence of every party organization and the strenthening of the CPSU's vanguard role in society and its activation in solving the tasks of deepening perestroyka.

Particular attention should be paid to drawing into party work new fresh forces from the ranks of communists dedicated to the cause of perestroyka, supported by party organizations and competent in party and political methods; to nominating for leading roles in the party people able to impart an effective nature to the CPSU's renewal on the basis of the decisions of 28th CPSU Congress.

8. In accordance with the directives of the 19th all-union party conference, at forthcoming party congresses and conferences unified control and auditing commissions may be elected. In their practical work before the 28th CPSU Congress control and auditing commissions may take guidance from the temporary regulations confirmed by the CPSU Central Committee ("NEWS of the CPSU Central Committee", 1, 1989).

9. To charge the Central Committee Politburo with the work linked with the preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress and with carrying it out publicly and openly, with members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee and local party aktivs drawn extensively into it.

To consider it expedient to set up commissions (groups) from among delegates elected to the congress for working out basic documents and resolutions for the CPSU Congress.

Procedure for Electing Congress Delegates Printed

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["Procedure for Electing Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress"]

[Text] The procedure for the elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress is provoking broad discussion in the party. The communists attach great importance to this question, justly supposing that the composition of the delegates will, above all, determine the results of the congress. They are broadly speaking in favor of contestable elections of delegates to the CPSU congress as well as to the congresses of the Communist Parties of union republics, and to kray and oblast party conferences. They also favor providing every communist with the possibility of taking part in the formation of the composition of the country's supreme party forum.

Taking account of the views of party organizations, communists, and the public, the following procedure for the elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress is being proposed.

Candidate congress delegates are to be nominated by primary party organizations. Communists of small organizations are to achieve this at cluster meetings, which are held by rayon and city party committees. At the same time, it is necessary to ensure competitiveness, a contestable basis, and an objective assessment of candidates' political and moral qualities. It is important that they be party members commanding authority and worthy representatives of the working class, peasantry, and the intelligentsia who have acquired a good record in the process of perestroyka and are able to take an active role in the elaboration and implementation of party policy.

The candidates must be given an opportunity to outline in party organizations and the mass information media their position on the main questions concerning party policy and practical work. Party organizations may conduct work in support of their candidacy in other party organizations.

Depending on the order of selecting delegates, candidacies put forward may be considered at rayon and town party conferences. Moreover, the total number of members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the rayon or town and the possibility of making alternative proposals is taken into account. Attention is paid to how wide and active the support is which is shown to this or that candidate. Decisions on putting forward candidacies at meetings and conferences are taken at the discretion of the participants by open or secret balloting. The list of candidates put forward is published.

The order of elections of delegates to the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is being decided by plenums of oblast and kray party organizations and Communist Parties of the union republics with regard for the opinion of communists and the conditions of party organizations' activity. Moreover, direct elections of delegates are held according to single- and multi-mandate party constituencies are possible.

Elections are held according to single-mandate constituencies. In this case, the plenum selects a commission to carry out elections of delegates for the 28th CPSU Congress. At the proposal of primary party organizations, rayon committees, and party town committees, taking into account the party structure and norm of representation affirmed by the CPSU Central Committee, the commission forms party constituencies. The constituencies may embrace several rayon (town) party organizations. In the constituencies, constituency electoral commissions are established.

The constituency electoral commission implements supervision of the execution of elections in primary party organizations; creates conditions for the acquaintance of communists with candidate delegates to the congress; ratifies the text of the electoral bulletins according to the constituency; ensures the preparation of bulletins and provides them to primary party organizations; and establishes the constituency election results.

For all the candidacies nominated in the constituency's primary organizations and where constituencies encompass several rayons (towns), the candidacies supported by the rayon (town) party conferences are entered on the secret ballot paper for the elections of a delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress.

Within the framework of the electoral constituency, the secret ballot in the elections of a delegate to the congress is conducted in the primary (work places, with the rights of primary) party organizations. For this purpose, they elect telling commissions. The voting is conducted in a similar way to the elections of delegates to rayon and town party conferences according to the lists of communists on the books of the organization in question.

The elections are considered to be valid if over half of the constituency's CPSU members have taken part in them. In those constituencies where no one candidate has gathered more than half the votes of those that have taken part in the elections, a repeat ballot is held for the two candidacies which gathered the largest number of votes in the first round.

The results of the elections of delegates for the 28th CPSU Congress are reported by the commission which is formed by the party committee plenum to the oblast or kray party conference or to the congress of the Communist Party of a union republic. In the event that the elections in the constituency are deemed invalid, and also where none of the candidates standing, including after the repeat ballot, has gathered the necessary number of votes, the delegate for the CPSU Congress for the vacant seat is elected directly by the oblast or kray party conference or the congress of the Communist Party of the union republic.

Elections are held for the multi-seat electoral constituencies. In this case, the plenum considers all the candidacies supported by the rayon and town party conferences and approves a single list of candidate delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress for all the party organizations of the oblast, kray, and republic.

The plenum will form oblast, kray, and republican commissions for holding the elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress.

A list of candidates will be published in the press giving brief biographies of each of them. On the basis of this list, the commission will endorse the voting slip for a secret ballot, will print the required number of voting slips, and will dispatch them to the rayon and city party committees which organize voting in primary party organizations. For these purposes, rayon and city party committees will form tellers' commissions. Tellers' commissions will also be elected in primary (work place) party organizations. The commission formed by the plenum of the party committee will report the results of voting to an oblast or kray party conference or to a congress of the Communist Party of the union republic. Elections are deemed valid if more than one half of the composition of the oblast (kray) party organization or of the Communist Party of the union republic have taken part in the ballot. In cases where elections did not take place or vacant mandates remain, the elections of delegates will be held directly at the oblast or kray party conference or the congress of the Communist Party of the union republic.

Many-mandate constituencies can be created for groups of rayon (city) party organizations. In this case, constituency electoral commissions will be formed in each.

A plenum of the Oblast or Kray Party Committee or of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the union republic may decide to give the right of electing delegates to the congress directly to the primary party organizations in which the number of communists corresponds to or exceeds the norm of representation established by the CPSU Central Committee. In such a case, the party organization will become a single- or many-mandate constituency.

The delegates elected are included in the general number of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress from oblast and kray party organizations and the Communist Parties of union republics.

In accordance with the CPSU rules in force, the delegates to the party congress can be elected by closed (secret) voting at oblast and kray party conferences and congresses of Communist Parties of the union republics. If such a procedure is adopted, then the election process must be democratized to the maximum level.

In this event, the elections are conducted on a basis of choice from the number of candiates put forward in the primary party organizations and supported by rayon (city) party conferences.

During the determination of the voting results, in contradistinction to the process envisaged by the CPSU rules currently in force, candidates who have received the largest number of votes in relation to other candidates, but more than half of the votes of CPSU members participating in the voting, the delegates of the conference or congress should be considered elected delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress.

The need arises to introduce changes into the procedure for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress from party organizations in the Soviet Army, Navy, and internal and border troops. Previously they were elected together with the delegates of territorial party organizations. This time it is proposed that they be elected directly from the party conferences of Military Districts, fleets and associations, branches of the Armed Forces, directorates of internal troops, and districts of border troops. As for communists in party organizations in units of the Soviet Army and Navy abroad, then they, as previously, will elect delegates to the 28th congress at party conferences of military formations.

Communist servicemen will also take part in the work of territorial conference and congresses of the Communist Parties of union republics in accordance with the practice that has taken shape. They can elect and be elected to the relevant party bodies, but they will not take part in electing delegates to the CPSU Congress from territorial party organizations.

It is expedient to provide the party organizations of Soviet establishments working abroad with a possibility to elect delegates to the congress at a party conference which can be held in Moscow.

In the commission's view, the proposed procedure for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congres could be used for electing delegates to other party congresses and conferences.

Also, a provision ought to be made to the effect that oblast and kray party conferences and congresses of the Communist Parties of union republics send to the 28th CPSU Congress proposals on candidates to the central bodies of the party, which take into account the views of party organizations.

The CPSU Central Committee Commission for Party Building and Cadre Policy

Information Report on 16 Mar Plenum Proceedings

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[Unattributed report: "Information Report on CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee plenum continued work 16 March 1990. The plenum discussed the draft CPSU Statutes and other points on the agenda.

Taking part in the plenum's work were secretaries of party gorkoms [city party committees], raykoms [rayon party committees], and the party committees of certain primary party organizations, as well as USSR people's deputies from the CPSU.

The following spoke in the debates: K. Salykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources; K.Z. Romazanov, steelworker at the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine; A.S. Myakota, first secretary of Poltava Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom [oblast party committee]; V.A. Churilov, first secretary of Khanty-Mansiysk CPSU Okrug Committee, Tyumen Oblast; Ye.K. Ligachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; M.Sh. Shaymiyev, first secretary of Tartar CPSU Obkom; G.V. Sivets, party committee secretary at the "Izhevskiy Mekhanicheskiy Zavod" Production Association; R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy; N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; A.I. Zemskov, first secretary of Voroshilovskiy CPSU Raykom, Moscow City; S.V. Rafailov, party committee secretary at Makeyevka City's "Sovetskaya" Pit, Donetsk Oblast; B.B. Ponomarev, party committee secretary at the Irkutsk Polytechnical Institute; M.M. Burokyavichyus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU Platform) Interim Central Committee; L.N. Zaykov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; S.I. Gurenko, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V.I. Mitrokhin, party committee secretary at the Moscow Higher Party School; G.Ch. Shirshin, first secretary of Tuva CPSU Obkom; G.I. Anufriyev, fitter at the Kuybyshev Aircraft Plant; B.M. Volodin, first secretary of Rostov CPSU Obkom; Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; V.V. Chikin, party committee secretary at the Minsk Timepiece Plant; A.A. Ruzhitskiy, first secretary of Cherkassy Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom; S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the

Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee; and Yu.N. Shogin, first secretary of Moscow Oblast's Zhukovskiy CPSU Gorkom.

G.P. Razumovskiy spoke on behalf of the editorial commission finalizing the drafting of the CPSU Statutes and preparing other Central Committee plenum documents.

The plenum adopted the resolution "On the Timetable for Convening the 28th CPSU Congress, Holding the Report and Election Campaign in the Party, the Norm of Representation, and the Procedure for Electing Congress Delegates."

The plenum instructed the editorial commission and the Central Committee Politburo to finalize the draft CPSU Statues taking account of the comments which have been received and the discussion which has been held (the draft will be published in the press).

The plenum adopted a resolution on the holding of a Russian party conference.

The plenum approved a draft resolution on the CPSU Central Control and Auditing Commission.

M.S. Gorbachev delivered the closing speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

This ended the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

Proceedings at CPSU Plenum Detailed

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[Excerpts] Moscow, 17 March (TASS)—On 16 March the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee continued its discussion of the draft rules of the CPSU and the timetable for the holding of the report-back and election campaign in the party.

We need today a radically renewed communist party, K. Salykov, the chairman of the committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet on issues of ecology and the rational use of natural resources, noted. I personally see the CPSU as the sole sociopolitical organization of the USSR, together with strong, really independent party organizations from all of the union and autonomous republics, including the party organization and future central committee of the party organization of the Russian Federation, the speaker said. He drew special attention to the fact that an intensified struggle should be conducted to resolve the urgent and acute problems of the economy and issues of interethnic and, especially, ecological security. In the speaker's opinion the CPSU Central Committee still devotes little attention to problems of ecology.

The speaker expressed his thoughts on the draft CPSU rules. It is desirable that the strengthening of demands for efficiency and initiative be reemphasized in the rules. Another thing: Evidently, it is necessary to record in the rules that a member of the CPSU has the right to take part in the work of any social organizations and movements whose activities do not contradict the aims and tasks of the party and the demands of the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitutions of the union and autonomous republics. It is important that he boldly fight for the interests of the CPSU there. It should be emphasized in the party rules that communists base themselves on the development of the humanistic and internationalist ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

In the CPSU draft rules the confrontation of various views is permitted and communists' freedom of opinion and evaluation is, in essence, welcomed. Would it not be better to introduce the concept of a free association of communists?

The speaker drew special attention to the necessity for increasing personal responsibility within the party for collective decisions. In relation to this he considers it important to record in the draft of the new rules that collectivity in the work of party bodies when decisions are drawn up should be combined with the personal responsibility of communists for implementing them. Society legitimately demands that the party put an end to the faulty practice whereby decisions are taken by some people and the responsibility for their results are borne either by others or by no one at all. [passage omitted]

The floor is given to Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Public life in our country, he said, is becoming thoroughly crowded. The institution of the post of president and the election of Mikhail Sergeyvich Gorbachev as our country's first president is an important stage in perestroyka.

Characterizing the situation in the country further, Ye.K. Ligachev noted that society has reached the point beyond which political and economic chaos is possible. Paramount tasks affecting the interests of the entire people are not being properly tackled.

Let us take the food problem. Yes, we have defined the basic directions for current agrarian policy, and I am certain that it is a correct policy and it is having its results. Food production is increasing, but the increase is very small.

The agrarian policy needs considerable economic reinforcements by additional resources, new prices, and subsidies. But much as now to all intents and purposes become frozen. I have already repeatedly raised this issue in the Politburo, the Central Committee plenums, and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The countryside has lagged behind so far technically and socially and the base for storage and processing of agricultural raw materials has been so neglected that without a substantial increase in funding and supplies of material resources to the agrarian sector, there can be no question of any sufficiency in food even in 5-10 years time.

No, it is said, let us give the peasant freedom and make him the master on the land and everything will be fine. I am also in favor of the peasant being master on the land, but pitchforks and spades alone are totaly inadequate to feed the country.

Time is passing and the food knot is being drawn ever tigher. This is a fact.

There are discernible in our society forces and people who under cover of using manipulating the slogans of perestroyka are hatching the intention of bringing about the disintegration of society and the party, emasculating the Leninist principles of it structure and activities, and, to put it simply, transforming the CPSU into social democracy, introducing private ownership into the country and restoring capitalist production. In this respect they refer to the example of Eastern Europe. But after all, the Central Committee secretary noted, there has been a large-scale retreat from socialism there.

Returning to affairs inside the country, the speaker noted that the troubles and failures have been caused by many factors, but among them the weakening of the party itself both in organizational and the ideological respect stands out. One may agree to disagree, but I am sure that, first and foremost, it is this that has brought the country to its critical condition. At the same time I cannot see any force apart from the soviets of people's deputies and the communist party that could lead the country out of its acute situation on to the road of progress. In recent years things have even arisen that did not exist previously. Many sections of the party are getting out of the economy without appropriately preparing the local soviets. Factions and groups have begun to operate within the party Frequently words and not deeds serve as the criterion for assessing an individual. Within society some of the mass information media continue to act destructively. the question is, do we speak of this in our speeches? Yes, we do, but frequently only to register and designate the issue, since frequently no action follows the speeeches.

I am not in favour of the party's returning to command methods, the speaker stressed, or of its interfering in executive and economic matters. No, most certainly not. Let no one misinterpret or misrepresent me. The overall road is, of course, the road of creating a planned market economy [planovo- rynochnaya ekonomika] through economic reform.

The other day, the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies adopted the important decision on presidential rule. In the conditions of a developing democracy, accompanied by the decentralization of administration, this is, undoubtedly, a necessary measure. But we probably realize that presidential power by itself will not extricate the country from the difficult situation. This can be done by the party and the soviets. That is why part renewal, the new CPSU rules and an active personnel policy are so essential. Otherwise the country will not quickly emerge from the state of economic disruption and political tension.

The renewal of the party in accordance with the new rules implies not only the democratization of intraparty relations, which is highly important, but also the strengthening of the organizational and ideological unity of the party ranks, and the party's cleansing of all those who are ruining it, who engage in factional, opposition struggle, and who take part in antisocialist movements. Such party members exist in the Supreme Soviet and in the Central committee, and they also exist in the localities. Quite a lot of political phrasemongers have multiplied; their words are ringing, but empty.

In this connection, Ye.K. Ligachev supported the communists' proposal for the party to carry out a political certification of its members. All this, of course, has to be done responsibly, he said. We can see from the fate of the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party where a line of conduct leads it is unprincipled. When appeasement comes to the fore, the very logic of struggle leads ultimately to political bankrupcy. And one other point. during the formation of new organs of power, it has emerge that the working class and the peasantry have very slim representation in them.

The speech was rounded off by the thought that the campaign against the party and soviet power is very well organized and coordinated. The most damaging thing in these conditions is a lack of concern. The time has come to give a resolute rebuff to the antisocialist forces. An example of this can be provided by the appeals from the Supreme Soviet, the CPSU Central Committee, and the government to the country's working people, adopted in February this year, and by the work carried out by the party during those days.

A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, emphasized that the communists of the Army and Navy reject the slogan of depoliticizing the Armed Forces, which has become the trump card of those who are attempting to nullify party influence in the Army and Navy, to spiritually disarm Armed Forces personnel, and by this same token cause damage to the fortress of the army and socialism.

As confirmation of this thesis, the speaker recalled that the disbanding of political organs and the banning of the activity of party organizations within the armies of a number of Eastern European countries had led to a sharp aggravation of the problem of military discipline, to an increase in cases of desertion and in certain cases to the moral disintegration of sub-units and even military units and formations. Here the monopoly of the communist parties is being replaced today by the monopoly of political forces opposed to them.

One must also not fail to take account of the experience of military construction in the United States and NATO countries, in whose armies there have long existed and actively functioned powerful political-ideological structures, embodying the policy of the prevailing political forces.

The speaker drew the plenum's attention to the necessity for a cardinal reorganization of political organs, which presupposes the setting up of a mechanism of party political influence on personnel which would optimally correspond to the tasks of the present stage of Soviet military construction, the spirit of our military doctrine, and the aims of the forthcoming military reform.

Perestroyka in the Army and Navy is being hindered to no small degree today by the lower efficiency of political and educational work and by the conscious attempts of some people to undermine the prestige of military service and to wreck the spring call-up to the Armed Forces. One cannot also fail to notice the anti-Soviet, anti-army nature of many republican legisltive acts which contradict union legislation.

Approving in the main the draft rules, the speaker pointed to a concrete proposal on paragraph 26, in which the prospect of a reorganization of the political organs is taken into account, and noted that the order of relations between the Army party organisations and local party organisations is set forth in a new way. The speaker said that this emphasizes that our links will strengthen and will be filled with new content and that the principle of unity of the Army and people will receive a new impulse of energy.

In conclusion it was reported that a full report-back and election campaign will be carried out in the Armed Forces before the 28th CPSU congress, and delegates to the congress will be elected directly from party organizations.

On the rostrum is M.Sh. Shaymiyev, first secretary of the Tatar Oblast Committee of the CPSU. [passage omitted]

The speaker noted that the issue of the party's ideological and organizational unity is given rise to profound concern today. We cannot now maintain that all party members are united in their political outlook. The party masses do not know, for instance, what the Central Committee and the supreme party bodies think of the "Democratic Platform within the CPSU," which is advocating freedom for factions inside the party, turning the CPSU into a parliamentary party and so on. [passage omitted]

On the rostrum is V.I. Brovikov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the Republic of Poland. He noted that he was impelled to take part in this discussion by his concern for the fate of the party. The 27th CPSU congress was held four years ago. It gave a serious and critical interpretation of the past and worked out historically new tasks; optimistic, but at the same time realistic ones. If we superimpose those decisions on what is actually happening in the country, he went on, it is easily seen that we have turned away from the path mapped out by the congress. We have not achieved the results that we wrote into those plans of ours. Instead of accelerating, socioeconomic development is slowing down; instead of rising, the workers' living standards are falling; instead of being reformed, the system of state and economic administration is being in many ways deformed; and finally, instead of strengthening the party, a policy of weakening and discrediting it is being waged by various forces, both opposition forces and forces within our party.

How is all this to be understood? Was the congress wrong in its assessments and directives, or has the Central Committee, have all of us together, proved unequal to the task? Painful though it may be, one has to admit the latter. The Central Committee, and above all the Politburo and Secretariat, have failed to underpin the course adopted by the congress with the proper organizational and political work, and this, to me, is one of the reasons for the party's loss of authority since the 27th congress, stated the ambassador.

There's no denying that the party deserves criticism, as do a section of the party apparatus and many communists who have distorted the party line, or have morally degenerated. The following distinction must be drawn, however: Criticism by honest people is one thing, but if it comes from various kinds of political chameleons, who are furthermore hiding behind Leninist phraseology, that is another matter. Most painful of all is the fact that nobody, neither the general secretary nor his closest comrades-in-arms, has taken any significant measures to protect the honor and dignity of the party, whether because this suits them or because they themselves are afraid of being criticized by the "critics."

The speaker believes that this is causing a loss of direction, not only within the party, but in society as well. People do not understand what is going on, he continued. As the ninth decade of its history draws to a close, the CPSU, with almost 19 million members (one in 10 of the country's citizens), is facing a greater danger than any before. There are growing attempts to force it into the political gutter and to turn it from a ruling party into a debating society at best, and into a player in a parliamentary game. At worst. As I see it, to allow this would be disastrous for the country, for we neither have nor can have any other integrating force, any other guarantor of the stability of socialism's foundations. One is getting the impression that our leaders are hastening to write off the party as the leading force in society and to hand over the functions of the Politburo, now being scrapped, to the president, continued the speaker. He doubted that presidential rule will save the country from the misfortunes that are upon it. He noted that on such an important issue the people should be duly consulted, and spoke out in favor of a referendum.

I do not think we shall find a way out of the present situation by adopting any half-hearted measures. Radical measures must be thought through and the time remaining before the congress must be used to restore the party's fortunes and to enhance its authority, so that we may emerge from the congress with a strong party, stated the speaker. [passage omitted]

G.V. Sivets, secretary of the party committee of the "Izhevsk Motor Plant" production association, said that an attempt to take communists' proposals into consideration is evident in the CPSU rules, but, nonetheless, they are unsatisfactory, and primarily because the party's ideological foundation is eroded and its purpose it lost in them, as in the platform as well. As is the case with democratic centralism, the core of many statutes has disappeared. Statutes are sometimes imprecise and unclear.

The definition of the party in the preamble of the draft rules introduces some kind of uncertainty. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union should be a political organization. However, the document in the form put forward does not read like the rules of a party standing on Marxist-Leninist positions. The impression is formed that the CPSU shamefacedly avoids the term "Marxism-Leninism," although this teaching is recognised as the priceless property of humanity. [passage omitted]

R.G. Yanovskiy, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU central committee. [no verb as received] [passage omitted]

A provision not included in the draft program or recorded in an adequately outlined form in the currently valid statute concerns the right of a party member to criticize not ony any other communist, but also any high ranking party organ. Alongside the provision on party reprimands it is expedient to include a provision on incentives, especially moral incentives, for party members. After the adoption of the law on ownership in this country—and that has already been discussed here—a statute provision on party ownership is becoming extremely important. Everone can see how easily we are now handing over various structures. The attitude is that "it is not mine!" and in this respect there is a loss of the sense of ownership. Recently the increasing attempts to eliminate the rights of party committees to own sites belonging to the party have assumed an essentially unconstitutional nature.

The buildings and structures, educational establishments, publishing houses, and training courses, which, as everyone knows, have been created with great difficulty—as a whole they belong to the people, of course. This must be upheld and defended here. What is more, this must not be done in the way in which we are experts: Building something for one purpose and then rebuildng it for a third party, and this going on ad infinitum. It is high time this practice ended. If one needs medical establishments, and various public facilities, it is better to build them afresh. The other way is more expensive and the main thing is that it does not solve any problems.

I would like to say a few further words about the struggle of communists for the vanguard role of the party. The situation has changed. I will put it bluntly. For me, just as for any communist, it was hard thinking through to an understanding of the dialectic of this process. In this connection I would like to support the thesis of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his report on preservation of the name of the party and the definitions of it as communist. Comrades this is very important. To change the party's name would lead to certain excesses in the theory of the elaboration of the concept of humane democratic socialism. One must not treat this most complex matter lightly. [passage omitted]

Marxism is an internationalist teaching. The whole world is looking at us. Abandoning it could be interpreted by communist and national liberation movements as a revision of this teaching. But neither should we forget that there is another detachment of the socialist movement, and that all of us have come from social democracy. And we must seek allies in all left-wing movement detachments to tackle the tasks with which we are faced.

By political methods and constant work on itself, the party must seek the leading intellectual, spiritual, and moral position in society. In this respect a great step forward was taken by the February plenum of the Central Committee. The draft rules are based on the Central Committee's new platform and accord with its democratic spirit.

Intellectual thinking within the party does not stop for a single minute. As well as the party, the academy and the 15 higher party schools are being restructured. Their scientific potential is being built up. But there are many problems and weak spots.

Today we are basing our policy on a scientific analysis of actual life, in the entire context of society's practical experience and a knowledge of the laws and perspectives of social development and the historical experience of the 20th century. All this requires a fundamental, radical restructuring of the system of party education, its democratization, the speaker said. The humanization and democratization of poliical education within the party and the training of a personnel reserve are important aspects of our pedagogical and scientific work.

On the rostrum is N.A. Nazarabyev, first secretary of the kazakhstan CP (Communist Party) Central Committee. for the first time in many years, he noted, effectively all communists—not just some of them—have received the opportunity to express their views openly and honestly on the future of the party, its place and role in society, and on ways of radically restructuring party work. However one cannot but see that it is not only positive things that are contained in the just criticism of various provisions of the platform.

Some CPSU members would like to use the discussion which has developed to deny all constructive actions aimed at bringing communists together in the political struggle. It is especially dangerous that this is being done under the disguise of pluralism and under the cover of slogans advocating a struggle against party conservatives. There is no doubt—conservatism exists. But the ambition of the militant radicals is to throw out the baby with the bath water. Only a blind person would fail to notice that. Let us take, for example, the tenet they have put forward on the need for factions within the party. If we leave the open, honest, and in the interests of the party necessarily comradely dialogue and turn off on to a twisting road of confrontation and an uncompromising fight for leaderhsip, then there can be no question of the CPSU having any political authority at all.

Turning to the draft of the new rules, N.A. Nazarabyev proposed to consider the concepts which have taken root of relations between party organizations and party committees. In the rules in force, he said, it is a matter of a chain of subordination, vertical links. Life on the other hand is demonstrating more and more persistently the need for developing relations along the horizontal and for eliminating such categories as "above," "below," "upper" and "lower," of which the present draft is evidently guilty. It is precisely the power of the party masses which should play the determining role in the formation of party policy. We are in favor of the independence of the republicn communist parties within the framework of the CPSU and believe that they should have their own programs based on parallel documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but which, at the same time, take national and territorial specifics into account. The republican communist parties should be granted the right to determine independently the times at which they will hold their congresses and conferences, party discussions and referendums, put forward and present their platforms, documents and inquiries about problems of public and party life and policy at all-union congresses and conferences, to deal independently with matters of their own structure of staff, to delegate their representatives to the central party bodies, to conduct cadre policy on their own territory and to establish and maintain inter-party links both within the country and abroad.

For the moment, said the speaker, one gets the impression that it is very bad for the authors of the draft to renounce the traditional lack of trust in the republican party organizations. Why, for example, are the communist parties only given the right to recommend candidates for specific party posts? Are the republics really less aware of the busines and moral qualities of their own people? In a word, the CPSU Rules should not categorically prescribe for the party organizations—from the primary organizations to those at republican level—how they should live and work, which bodies they should create etc. It should merely stipulate basic principles.

The mechanism of internal party democracy requires serious scientific analysis and fundamental renewal. In our view, measures guaranteeing the rights of the minority must be more precisely defined in the text of the Rules. There should be clear points on the impermissibility of paternalism, dogmatism, deference to rank, servility and communist arrogance in our modest and precise formulations as to what is permissible and what is unacceptable in the political struggle. The Rules should clearly regulate the activities of communists in conditions of a multi-party system.

The procedure for accepting someone into the CPSU is in need of simplification. At present it has too many stages and is too unwieldy. An objection of principle is caused by the point on what is called free entry into and withdrawal from the CPSU. In any case we feel that a statement of withdrawal should be examined by the primary party organization and the actual fact of withdrawal registered as expulsion from the ranks of the CPSU.

[passage omitted] There should be a clear and precise system of rights and obligations: A communist works in a single party organization, can vote there and be elected, the raykom (rayon party committee) first secretary [Zemskov] believes. He recalled that relations between the elected party body and the apparat are a topic that is much talked about and has been distorted in many ways. What complicates matters, in his opinion, is the fact that the party Central Committee (like a great many other party committees) does not work in the recesses between plenums under the terms of the Rules currently in force.

Members of a party committee, in this instance of the CPSU Central Committee, meet at plenums, debate, applaud and vote, but do not work in the recesses between plenums. What is required then? Change is possible, the speaker stressed, not by changing the name of the Politburo to that of presidium or by accepting some members of the Central Comittee of the party for vacant party jobs. The members of the Central Committee—the members of any party committee—must work at local level, in the party organizations which elected them. For example, if some members of the Central Committee of the party were elected by the Kyubyshev Oblast Party Organization or a region they should work there. They should have one or two members of staff from the apparatus of the party Central Committee working with them and helping them to maintain links with the center and the primary organizations. Otherwise everything will remain the same and there will be no decentralization of the way in which the party is run.

[passage omitted] B.B. Ponomarev, secretary of the party committee at the Irkutsk Polytechnic Institute, expressed the opinion that the weakest aspects of the draft Rules are its lack of precision in defining the ideological basis on which the party must unite its members and in the formulae which relate to the fundamental principles of building the party.

We are discussing the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he said, and in the preamble and, indeed, in the text that follows, the actual word "communist" maintains a modest silence. The question therefore arises as to the ultimate aim of the party. Are we not rejecting the main idea, for the sake of which we came together, too soon under pressure from a fever of meetings for meetings'sake?

Not one of the basic tenets of Marx' [Communist] 'Manifesto' has been implemented today, neither here nor abroad. If it has it is distorted beyond recognition. Our opponents and we ourselves on their heels have rushed to deem the idea itself unworthy to be mentioned in the most important documents of the party. It is not without the involvement of sociologists and practical workers that we no longer know what kind of society we have created. I believe that the ultimate aim should be formulated in the text of the Rules and that the way to implement it through building socialism in our country has already been provided in the draft we are discussing today. This is a fundamental issue and must be reflected in the Rules.

It is too soon for us to be rejecting the principle of democratic centralism in the organizational building of the party, the speaker continued. It is essentially revealed in part and contained in the sections of the draft Rules but not called by its own name. What is this? Modesty or the fear of repelling people who are not inclined toward discipline and responsibility away from our party? In rejecting this principle we are making concessions to our opponents and leading the party toward schism and toward being turned into a kind of voluntary society, rather than a cohesive and strong social and political organization. [passage omitted]

The draft Rules of the CPSU, noted M.M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Interim Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, is more democratic and logical in content than the party Rules which are currently in effect. It is a very good thing that a section on "Communist Parties of the Union Republics" has been introduced to it. I think, he stressed, that the Rules should have stated that the CPSU is part of the world communist movement, and that the CPSU's aims should have been more clearly stated, too. It is especially the ideas in the draft of the new Rules of the CPSU that are very important to the communist internationalists of Lithuania. I am profoundly convinced that the Communist Party of Lithuania will live and act even under the most difficult political conditions, and that it will defend Lithuania's socialist path of development.

Lithuania, said the speaker, is experiencing a political tragedy. The nationalist conservative forces who achieved an absolute majority of deputies' seats at the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet are striving to use parliament to change the state system of Soviet Lithuania. While eulogizing the capitalist system in [pre-war] Lithuania, they pass over in silence the grave economic and sociopolitical situation of workers and peasants, the lack of political rights of citizens, the repression of progressive people and the shooting of the leadership of Lithuania's Communist Party in 1926 in bourgeois Lithuania, and unemployment and the emigration of 100,000 people from Lithuania to other capitalist countries. They pass over in silence the fact that with the active participation of Lithuanian bourgeous nationalists, 371,000 Lithuanian citizens were annihilated and 70,000 Lithuanian citizens were deported to fascist Germany for penal labor during the years of Hitler's occupation, and that 229,000 Soviet prisoners-of-war, and more than 100,000 citizens from other Soviet republics and from states with capitalist systems, were annihilated in Lithuania.

Objectively summing up Lithuania's past, he stated: History attests to the fact that the Lithuanian people are hardworking and that the best of them have created remarkable works of literature, art, and science, and have nurtured outstanding figures in the social movement in the past. The Lithuanian people have great respect for other peoples. They have always had an inherent love for their mother tongue, for progressive popular traditions, and for the positive cultural and historical and cultural past. The aspiration to restore bourgeois statehood and to return to the past in Lithuania is, in his view, contrary to the logic of history.

The nationalist conservative forces are striving for their goals by making skilful use of the national feelings of the considerable proportion of the Lithuanian people. Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania do not, however, have the right to speak on behalf of the entire Lithuanian people, because in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR they received only 41.1 percent of the votes cast by the total number of voters on the electoral roll.

Analyzing the causes of the political events taking place in Lithuania, the speaker said that once the separatist nationalist forces had seized all the information media—the press, radio, and television—they did not meet with any opposition from the leadership of the reorganized Communist Party. Moreover, the party's leaders merged with the separatist forces while hiding behind the ideas of perestroyka. Having sensed the weakness of state power, these forces conducted vile work in Lithuania against the Armed Forces of the USSR, showing hatred of Soviet soldiers, calling on young people not to serve in the ranks of the Soviet Army, and seeking to set up a Lithuanian national army of their own selfish ends.

The democratization of Soviet society has nothing in common with the infringement of Soviet laws on the attempt to resolve a system which existed until the forties in Lithuania. After all, the effect of USSR laws in Lithuania is being completely halted. The documents of the current session of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania speak of this. I think, said the leader of the interim Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, that the time has come to take the measures necessary to protect the USSR's sovereignty and the security and territorial integrity of the Soviet Union, and to defend the rights, liberties, and security of citezens of Soviet Lithuania. We fear neither slander against the

Communist Party of Lithuania nor the hounding and persecution of communists by nationalist conservative forces in the Republic. At the elections to the republic's Supreme soviet the republic's communist internationalists defended the comprehensive development of Soviet Lithuania within the composition of the USSR. All the separatist and nationalist forces came out against them, and they were blockaded by television and the other mass information media. Communist internationalists are still in favor of Soviet Lithuania being within the family of peoples of the USSR, of the full socialist state sovereignty of Lithuania, and of its independence from the capitalist world.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is at the rostrum. Our plenum started work on the same day as the March plenum of the Central Committee in 1985, he said. Our perestroyka is five years old. Everyone who took part five years ago in the work of the March and then the April plenums will clearly recall the atmosphere in which they were conducted. It was an atmosphere of unanimity and hope. Hope precisely that we would finally stop living in falsehood, living as if with a double morality: One for show, and the other for the soul. In these five years, the cleansing thaw of perestroyka has thrown off, together with the dirty scum of false values, the heavy coat of mail of the administrative system that fettered the people's initiative and talent.

Over these years we have unfortunately come to see that the consequences of the oxygen starvation of a society stifled by ecological neglect of ideology, the economy, and the social sphere [as received] turned out bo be too grave. We also realized that the roadstead through which our ship of state is moving turned out to be far bigger than could have been supposed, clogged up by underwater reefs of corruption and laziness, mutual hatred and suspicion. These reefs have slowed down the ship's progress, yet it is nevertheless moving confidently forward, though not at the speed we had counted upon, breaking out of the prison of apathy and indifference into the clear water of universal human values along the course of humane, democratic socialism. Political and economic reform has had to be carried out on the way.

All the anxieties which our new laws sometimes arouse are primarily linked with distrust of democracy, with fear of a repetition of the past. The draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Congress and the new party Rules are, I think, additional guarantees of the fact that there will be no return to the past.

Of importance, too, is the fact that the draft enshrines the total independence of the communist parties of the union republics. Nevertheless the Rules are not being created for one year alone. They are being created, not for an isolated group of communists or territory, but for the entire CPSU. As yet some sections of the Rules are declaratory and the wording of particular paragraphs smack of the thinking of former times.

Obviously it is insufficient, too, to just state that the minority is subordinated to the majority. It needs to be directly stated that the resolutions of the party congress are mandatory for fulfilment by all party organizations from top to bottom. The principles regarding the union status of the party are worded vaguely.

I should like, the speaker went on to say, to dwell on the section of the Rules which deals with party organizations in the USSR armed services. Comrade Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Armed Forces, put forward a number of constructive proposals today, but to my mind this section still needs some finalizing with account being taken of the situation that is developing. It is necessary to fill the tasks of the political bodies with fresh content and the chief of them must be not only the leadership of the party organizations but above all the social protection of officers and men.

Sociological research into the attitudes of personnel should be actively applied to the practice of the work of political bodies. It is also expedient to have the appropriate psychological services and sub-units engaged on the problems of interethnic relations. This will require too a review of the system of training cadres for the political bodies.

A large number of calls are now being heard altogether to give up political bodies in the army. It is claimed that under conditions of a multi-party system their work loses all its meaning.

What needs to be said in this regard?

Firstly, with the cancellation of the former wording of Articles 6 and 7 of the Constitution no one has cancelled Marxist- Leninist ideology. Secondly, there is no army in the world that does not have an institution of educators strictly watching over precisely the moral and political state of personnel.

It also seems expedient to put at the head of the tasks of political bodies the aim of educating personnel in a spirit of Soviet patriotism, internationalism, and loyalty to the fatherland, the Constitution and their military oath, as well as moral standards, personal honor, virtue and a strengthening of discipline.

I think that the whole set of problems connected with improving the work of party organizations in the armed forces, in view of the fact that the interests of almost 2 million communists are affected, needs to be studied as quickly as possible, in time for the 28th party congress.

The main thing—whether the CPSU will be a revitalized Communist Party or become a new type of party, whether it will remain unified or turn into a loose conglomerate, in which direction, incidentally, particular reformers are steadfastly nudging us—depends on what norms and principles are laid down in the Rules. This was how S.I. Gurenko, second secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee, opened his speech.

The answers to these questions are vitally important at the present time and in the longer term, he went on to say. Many of those seated here have already been able for themselves to see that with the change in the wording of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution there will be a sharp increase in attacks on the CPSU and increased attempts by destructive forces to impair and destroy the party structure, block its work and finally attempt to remove the party from the political arena. [passage omitted]

We intend to implement one of the clauses of the draft rules devoted to union republican communist parties at the next Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. A draft program of action and on the status of the Ukrainian Communist Party, which have been developed on the basis of drafts of the CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th congress and the draft Rules, will be discussed. [passage omitted]

In conclusion the second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee advocated the need to develop specific statutes on the legal and juridicial status, including those on property, of party organizations.

[Passage omitted] Before coming to the plenum, said G.I Anufriyev, a fitter-assembler from Kuybyshev aviation works, I had a meeting with the secretaries of the party organizations of our aviation association. They instructed me to present a letter at the plenum.

The speaker read out the letter, which states, inter alia: "We do not understand the mass concept of voicing no-confidence in a whole series of oblast, city, and rayon party committees. What does this mean? Is it a question of spontaneous processes among the masses or is it punishment of the party as a whole that has been well thought-out and sanctioned by someone at the top? Why has there been no reaction from the Politburo or the Central Committee to these instances? If the leaders of those oblasts and obkoms in whom the people have voiced no-confidence really have compromised themselves, why was there no timely intervention in their activities by the Politburo and the Central Committee rather than letting things go as far as spontaneous rallies and processes? If this is not the case, why was no support given?" [passage omitted]

Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of the party's Moscow Gorkom, noted the close connection between the Draft Rules of the CPSU and the CPSU Central Committee platform for the forthcoming congress. These fundamental documents, in his view, have both common virtues and common failings. The main thing, perhaps, is that they go no further than reflecting the current state of affairs in socio-political life and are not sufficiently forward-looking.

The speaker suggested writing into the CPSU Rules that the final aim of our party is the construction of communist society. People need this, he stressed, in order to make a conscious choice between the various political programs.

The Draft Rules should be more orientated toward the changing realities of political life and toward the developing political diversity of form. At present it gives no clear idea of how party organizations are to implement the policy of blocs and coalitions with other political (?and) public organizations.

The document does not elaborate a mechanism for interaction between party committees and communists in the bodies of people's sovereignty. In this connection the speaker said, in particular, that the Rules should especially enshrine the rights of communists representing the party in bodies of people's sovereignty at all levels. It should be stated that they have the right to participate in the work of elected party bodies, to obtain party information at its fullest, as well as support and social protection from the relevant party committee.

Political pluralism, he continued, forces a change in strategy and tactics of action. It is essential to create effective structures and to reorientate the substance of political activity literally in the streets, squares, and people's flats. For one of the party's main functions is becoming the political struggle for representation in the bodies of power, for the electorate's views.

Work in labor collectives must be organized differently, taking account of the new circumstances under which the right to supervise the management's activities is becoming a thing of the past. [passage omitted]

Noting that there is a broad debate going on in many party organizations on the issue of convening a congress or party conference of Russia's communists, and that in many cities organizational committees are already being set up, the speaker cautioned the Russian bureau of the danger of losing the initiative: the congress might otherwise be conducted by other forces.

V.V. Chikin, party committee secretary of the Minsk Clock Works, said that the party of communists is seriously ailing and moreover sufering from many simultaneous illnesses. They include both profound deformatiosn of intra-party relations and the clogging of our ranks by opportunists, careerists, and simply incidental people. Mistakes and misclaculations made at the stage of perestroyka have brought about a substantial loss of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's standing. The party has ceased to be an association of like-minded people.

This is why we awaited the decisions of the February Central Committee plenum and the draft CPSU Central Committee platform with such intense expectation. I will state plainly that this long-awaited document was received by our party organization with a certain amount of disappointment. The draft is not a very successful child of compromise. Indeed, it could not have been successful, for compromises are good when choosing tactics. Yet for defining a strategic target they are useless and, I think, harmful.

The question automatically arises: Do the authors of the draft and the party leadership really not realize that the main thing around which passions are boiling today is the question of allowing private ownership of the land and means of production to enter into our relations? Posibly I sound eccentric, but I do not believe that private ownership will save us and help us to get out of the quagmire which clumsy party and state activists, with the aid of opportunist academics who are now on the surface and are now giving "clever" counsels, got us into. On all questions of principle concerning the problem of private ownership and the final aims of our movement the Central Committee has chosen to make no comment. I am seriously worried that this silence will turn out to be a bad omen.

Our party is thus by far still the ruling one, and, in accordance with this, carries full responsibility for the state of affairs in the country. And, since things are not going very well, my colleagues and I simply have no time for work. All the time we are making excuses for Stalin's represssions and the shortage of goods, someone's privileges and cooperatives' brigandage, the increase in the state apparatus's salary, and interethnic conflicts. We are even reprimanded for the disintegration of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the Soviet federation. We listen to reproofs for much, much more of which we ourselves are not guilty.

I would like therefore to appeal to communists occupying leading posts in the state and, primarily, USSR people's deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with this proposal: Let us, without waiting for the congress and the ratification of the Rules, begin to realise the principle of power of the party masses in practice. Let us not forget when adopting the next fateful decision to consult the party foundation—its grassroots.

In this connection it would not be a bad idea to develop some kind of system of accountability of communist deputies before the whole party and a recall mechanism for those of them who do not cope with their obligations and do not defend the party from the malevolent attacks which are being aimed more and more frequently at it in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

Further, the speaker expressed a number of comments on the CPSU draft rules. In his opinion it connects in far from every respect with the draft platform. The draft's authors for some reason were ashamed to mention the principle of democratic centralism as the organizational foundation, although all its tenets are registered in the text of the document. In the first paragraph of the rules should be written that membership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is not compatible with exploitation of other people's labor in any form, by this token guarding our ranks from the incipient Soviet bourgeoisie. [passage omitted]

S.A.Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, remarked that it is difficult not to perceive the merits of the draft under review. Many of its statutes are of a really innovative nature. This primarily concerns the democratization of intra-party life, the power of the party masses, and the institution of the authonomy of party organizations in Lenin's sense.

Be that as it may, in the speaker's opinion a number of the statutes of the draft rules need deeper analysis and elaboration. Primarily, he considers it necessary to strengthen the Leninist definitions of the Communist party, according to which it, above all, serves working people and not only leads the masses.

Taking into account the development of restructuring processes, the recognition of the right to existence of various types of ownership in the country, as well as the numerous demands of communists and non-party members, it should also be reflected in the rules that an important task of the party is to protect the man of labor from attempts to restore a system of one man's exploitation by another. And this obliges party organizations not to weaken attention to issues of social policy and people's labor and everyday conditions.

Touching on the issue of the order of election of first secretaries of party committees and the CPSU chairman, the speaker proposed the following formulation: "They are elected with broad discussion of candidacies and maximal consideration of the opinions of communists by secret ballot, chiefly on an alternative-candidate basis."

It is inconceivable that the party can gain genuine authority and leading positions in Soviet society without unity of will and the full and unconditional unity of actions from party members. The orator considers it necessary to preserve the principle of democratic centralism as the basis of party construction, albeit, of course, having profoundly reinterpreted it and transformed it toward reinforcing democratism. It is necessary to acknowledge the right of the minority to possess and defend its position and for the possibility to return to the study of disputed proposals later. The communist must have the opportunity to publicly defend his point of view which does not correspond with the decision of the majority, so long as it does not come into contradiction with the CPSU program and rules.

Yu.N. Shogin, first secretary of the Zhukovskiy town party committee in Moscow Oblast, brought to the notice of the members of the Party Central Committee plenum a resolution passed by the town's communists on the procedure for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress. [passage omitted]

Dwelling on matters relating to the country's socioeconomic development, he stressed that the program ratified at the Congress of People's Deputies will only be fulfilled if everyone—the party, the soviets, the komsomol, the trade unions and the country's populace make serious efforts to implement it.

The first experimental statistical data on the start of the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and the Democratic Platform for the 28th CPSU Congress in the town's primary and shopfloor party organizations were cited. The correlation is as follows: Roughly 60-70 percent are in favor of the Platform of the Party's Central Committee, while the rest support the Democratic Platform. The speaker called for serious work to be carried out in Party organizations to clarify those positions on which we diverge and explain why this is so, in order to consolidate our ranks and draw up our tactics for demarcation.

With this the discussion ended. M.S. Gorbachev delivered his concluding speech.

Central Committee Plenum Continues 16 Mar

Morning Speakers Listed

LD1603141890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee plenum continued its work today in the Kremlin. Under discussion are the questions of the draft CPSU rules and the time scale for the holding of the report-back and election campaign in the party.

In the morning, the plenum was addressed by: K. Salykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Ecology and Rational Use of Natural Resources; K.Z. Romazanov, a steelworker at the Karaganda metallurgical combine; A.S. Myakota, first secretary of the Poltava Obkom [oblast party committee] of the Ukrainian Communist Party; V.A. Churilov, first secretary of the Khanty-Mansi Okrug CPSU committee in Tyumen Oblast; Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Cenral Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.D. Lizichev, head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; M.Sh. Shaymiyev, first secretary of the Tatar CPSU Obkom; G.V. Sivets, secretary of the party committee at the "Izhevsk Mechanical Works: production association in Izhevsk; R.G. Yanovvskiy, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee; N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party; A.I. Zemskov, first secretary of the Voroshilovskiy CPSU Raykom in Moscow; S.V. Rafailov, secretary of the party committee at the "Sovetskaya" mine in Makeyevka in Donetsk Oblast; B.B. Ponomarev, secretary of the party committee at the Irkutsk Polytechnical Institute; M.M. Burokyavichyus, first secretary of the Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (on the CPSU platform); L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; S.I. Gurenko, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party; V.I. Mitrokhin, secretary of the party committee at the Moscow Higher Party School; G.Ch. Shirshin, first secretary of the Tuva CPSU Obkom; G.I. Anufriyev, a metalworker and fitter at the Kuybyshev aircraft factory; and B.M. Volodin, first secretary of the Rostov CPSU Obkom.

It is expected that the CPSU Central Committee plenum will complete its work today.

'Heated' Discussion Reported

LD1603213290 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Information about the plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, which ended here today, shows how heated the discussion was of issues included in its agenda. It showed that the views of Central Committee members are far from identical. Often they are not even similar.

The plenary meeting held three sessions—on March 11, 14 and 16, which dealt with different problems. The first session discussed Articles 6 and 7 of the Constitution and amendments to it.

All speakers without exception pointed to the complexity of the situation in the party, society, and the country. Some of them blamed those "who are trying to knock the steering wheel of perestroyka off the hands of the party." Others said that "the Central Committee and primarily the Politburo and the Secretariat" did not take appropriate measures to put into practice clear resolutions of the 27th Party Congress. Some speakers pointed to the signs showing that the crisis of confidence in the party had aggravated during the perestroyka years and said that it was necessary to stop the deterioration of the party's prestige. Others categorically disagreed with them and said that the party's prestige had been undermined by many years of the personality cult and the stagnation period and that now, by leading perestroyka, the party is clearing itself and is restoring its good name.

Some speakers expressed the idea that "life is putting forward new demands to party leaders," that at present determination and persistence are not the most important things needed by a political leader, that today it is more important for him to be able to listen to and assess various points of view, to look for consensus without losing his bearings. All speakers at the plenary meeting supported the abolition or revision of Articles 6 and 7 of the USSR Constitution, but opinions divided over the recording in the Constitution of the emerging multiparty system. Most speakers believe that the Communist Party should be on equal terms with other parties, which have emerged or will emerge in the USSR. Some Central Committee members believe, however, that the Soviet Communist Party should be specially mentioned in the Constitution as a "political ruling force."

As for other parties, most Central Committee members spoke in favour of recording their right to pursue a policy by all legally acceptable means. It was also proposed at the plenary meeting to permit the activities only of those parties which do not set themselves the task to change the Soviet constitutional system and which are not going to struggle for power. Some speakers suggested that a USSR law about political parties should be drawn up and adopted.

At the session, which nominated a candidate to the post of the president from the Soviet Communist Party, all speakers were unanimous in their opinion. They nominated General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev as candidate to the country's top post.

Decision Made on RSFSR Conference

LD1603185190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (TASS)—The text of the decision of the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which ended today, follows:

"Decision of the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 16 March 1990 on the Russian [RSFSR] party conference.

1. It has been deemed expedient to call the Russian Party Conference prior to the 28th CPSU Congress.

2. It has been decided that delegates elected from party organizations of the Russian Federation to the 28th CPSU Congress will be the delegates to the conference.

3. The Russian bureau of the CPSU Central Committee has been instructed to prepare and hold the conference. For these purposes, a preparatory committee should be formed from representatives of kray, oblast, okrug, and Moscow city party organizations elected at plenums of relevant party committees (one person from each organization)."

Medvedev, Razumovskiy Meet Press

LD1603205890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1611 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Press conference on the results of the CPSU Central Committee plenum with Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, moderated by Gennadiy Gerasimov at the Foreign Ministry Press Center in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Medvedev] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, and comrades: Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy and I have been charged with meeting you to tell you about the plenum of the party Central Committee that ended today and to answer any questions you may have.

The plenum that finished its work today was unusual. Unusual primarily because it took place in, so to speak, three stages, or three attempts. It began work on 11 March, resumed work on 14 March, and then today, 16 March, it completed its work. Its peculiar feature was that the work of the plenum was considerably connected with the extraordinary Third Congress of the People's Deputies. In particular, this meant discussion at the plenum of matters concerning Articles 6 and 7 of the USSR Constitution, dealing with the role of the Communist Party and other parties and public organizations in the political system of our society. The party Central Committee set forth a legislative initiative on this article [as heard] at the Congress. It proposed another formulation which, as you will know, was adopted at the congress.

The Central Committee plenum also examined questions linked with the next CPSU congress. Consideration was given to the timing of the congress, the mounting of a report-back and election campaign in the party, the quota of representation, and procedures for the delegates' election to the congress. The plenum today adopted an extensive decision on this matter. Under this decision, the congress will be convened on 2 July. A detailed agenda for the congress has been fixed. Proposals concerning the quota of representation at the congress have been adopted. Proposals on procedures for the election of delegates to the congress have been adopted. I imagine that Comrade Razumovskiy will tell you about this in more specific terms. A decision has been adopted on the procedure for conducting the report-back and election campaign.

A new set of rules, or rather a new draft of the CPSU rules, was examined at the plenum. In fact, it was precisely the question of the CPSU rules which gave rise to the main debate at today's session.

The plenum also examined the question of elections for a USSR people's deputy from the CPSU to replace one who has quit. That occurred at the first session of the plenum.

Finally, at the session on the 14th, following the adoption by the Congress of People's Deputies of the law introducing the office of president, the Central Committee plenum assembled to discuss and recommend on behalf of the party Central Committee a candidacy for the post of president of the Soviet Union.

You already know about this. This means that the decision has been made on the times set for the convocation of the 28th CPSU Congress, the report-back and election campaign in the party, the representation quotas, and the procedure for electing delegates to the congress. This decision will be published in the press.

The draft CPSU rules have been approved in general. The drafting commission, together with the politburo, has been charged with definitively submitting amendments to the wording, taking into account the discussions which have taken place. These draft rules will also be published in the press in the next few days.

A special decision on holding a Russian party conference has also been made. What is envisaged is that a conference of the representatives of the party organizations of Russia will be held prior to the 28th congress, at which all issues connected with the creation of a Russian party organization will be discussed. It is difficult to say now what decisions will be made. In any case there will be an extensive exchange of opinions at the conference, and these opinions will then be submitted for consideration by the 28th CPSU Congress.

On the whole, a large number of speakers spoke at the plenum. I can tell you that 25 comrades spoke at today's session; on the 14th approximately 10 comrades also spoke. At the first session of the congress [as heard] there was also a large number of interventions. These are the general outlines of the plenum that has been taking place.

If we talk of what it means, I would say this: The March plenum of the party Central Committee has brought to an end a specific phase in the preparations for the 28th congress. Essentially all the necessary drafts and documents now exist to launch extensive pre-congress debates in the party and the country. There is a draft political platform for the party congress and a draft of the new rules. These give a fresh impetus to launching preparations for the congress on a basis of extensive comparisons of views and discussions, in such a way as really to prepare for the 28th party congress, taking into account the situation in the country in its entirety. Thus the congress really is a major step in the restructuring of our party and in its reform in an overall context of renewing the life of our country's society.

Perhaps I might end my introduction here, if....

[Gerasimov] Fine. Georgiy Petrovich, over to you for a while.

[Razumovskiy] Right. Now, prior to the congress, when not much time is left before the big event, a great many people are interested in the procedure for electing delegates to the 28th party congress. This was definitely set today by a decision of the plenum. The proposals from the party Central Committee's Commission for Party Building and Cadre Policy, which submitted several versions and, above all, ones in which it would be possible to elect a delegate to the congress by means of a direct, secret ballot in a contested election, have, effectively, been endorsed. It is to take place within the framework of constituencies for a single seat to be arranged within the party organizations of republics, krays, and oblasts.

Here—and we consider this as our first option, as the course that will be taken by the majority of the party organizations—we have met in a practical way the wishes of many of the primary party organizations, above all. Where such primary organizations are playing the main role, here all communists will, directly and immediately, participate in electing their delegate to the party congress.

The second option is also fairly democratic and comprehensive. It is that the elections will take place on the basis of a multiple seat list [mnogomandatnyy spisok] in the context possibly even of the oblast party organization, if not of that of the republic, and on the same basis of a secret ballot for alternative candidates with a multiple-seat list including far more candidacies than there are for the seats allocated to the constituency. The result will be that in the framework of an absolute majority, as it were, those who win the most votes will be elected according to the size of the allocated quota. For example, a small oblast party organization numbering 16,000, 20,000, or perhaps a little more than 30,000 CPSU members can organize elections on the basis of a multiple-seat list of this kind, with each CPSU member taking part in the voting.

The third option that could be used, taking into consideration the specifics of the territories of our large state, in territories with a low density of population, is the option in which also the primary party organizations propose the candidates, and only they propose them. This, by the way, is a general principle in all cases, it being a matter of electing candidates only from among those who are nominated by the primary party organizations. And then the congress, or rather the party conference, will make a decision on the delegates for the congress from among those put forward in the primary party organizations, and as a rule only from among these.

In addition, we have several dozen, closer to 100, probably, party organizations in the country which have sufficient numbers of communists to send a delegate to the party congress, directly from the party organization.

Corresponding conferences are being held in the Armed Forces, in the military districts, associations, and appropriate subdivisions where delegates are elected.

Finally, as it were, the last thing which will occur is that communists working abroad will send their delegates to the conference in Moscow, where elections for delegates to the congress will also be held.

I have listed virtually all the options, but I would like to stress once again that in the opinion of the absolute majority, according to the mood which we detect, the statements of those participating in the plenum, and the letters and proposals received by the party Central Committeee, according to the mood which we sense through the mass media, the majority will use the first option, in which delegates will be elected from single-seat constituencies on, I repeat, a contested basis by direct, secret voting.

In this way all communists will take part in the election of congress delegates. So much for the selection of delegates.

[Gerasimov] Let us go over to questions.

[Medvedev] Certainly.

[RIZOSPASTIS correspondent] RIZOSPASTIS newspaper: I have three questions for you, Vadim Andreyevich, if you will be so kind. The first: What is fundamentally new in the draft new rules of the CPSU, and has the principle of democratic centralism remained in it? This is the first question.

The second: In speaking at the plenum, Central Committee member Mishin, using, as he said, his right as a party comrade, suggested that Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev should resign. Well, how would you comment on this?

And, the last question: Will there be delegations of other parties at the congress?

[Medvedev] I must say that, if we summarize the statements of the plenum participants, the new draft rules correspond to the main proposals that have been proposed by the party regarding the reform and restructuring of the party. The draft rules also answer those questions which were already asked during discussions.

That's why the novelty of the party rules is very likely to be its most vivid feature. Theoretically I must say that basically the party rules will form a considerably more concise document. It is being very significantly cut in size as well as in the number of sections. It will formulate the fundamental norms that regulate inner party relations, at the same time leaving more scope for initiative, independence, and autonomous solutions of those problems arising in the life of one party organization or another.

What maybe is most important is the development of inner-party democracy and a sharp enhancement of the role of communists in party life and the role of the primary party organizations. This will be expressed in everything, from the participation of communists and primary party organizations in working out the party's policy, through their role in forming elected party bodies and their role in forming the body of delegates at all levels. Comrade Razumovskiy spoke about this here. The role of other party organizations too is being enhanced by the delegation of powers from above. In this connection I would like to single out especially the issue of the increased independence of the republican Communist Parties. The principle of independence of the republican parties is placed on record, and it is not just proclaimed and declared but is backed by the real extension of their rights.

They can have their policy documents. They can resolve the whole range, or virtually the whole range, of personnel questions, as well. They can resolve financial questions, and so forth. Substantial, if not cardinal, changes will affect the structure of the supreme party bodies. But I think that you know about this from the report delivered by Comrade Gorbachev at the plenum, while the fundamental questions of restructuring in the party were outlined at the February plenum and in the political platform for the congress.

Is the principle of democratic centralism being retained? I think that this question should not be approached from a terminological viewpoint but rather from the viewpoint of the essence of the matter. We consider that this principle should exist in the structure of our party, but in its contemporary understanding; not in its dogmatized understanding but in its democratic understanding. This means that, given the emphasis placed on the development of democracy in the party's activities, on the expansion of the rights and role of communists belonging to primary party organizations, on the recognition of pluralism of views, and the possibility of comparing programs and platforms, and so forth—given all this, the framework of the CPSU as an organization of like-thinkers, bound by certain regulations and principles, is being retained nevertheless.

We consider that the party should have no room for factions, with their own internal structures and internal discipline.

There ought to be one discipline in a party, one. There is a place for the rights of a minority, yes, including those to argue one's viewpoint, but the decisions adopted by the majority must be fulfilled obligingly. We think that without this a party disintegrates and ceases to exist as a single organization.

I must say that in the draft rules discussed at the current plenum this term, democratic centralism was not used. This served as grounds for a number of critical speeches at the plenum. The comrades said that the principle of democratic centralism should be mentioned (?as well). This will probably be done in the draft rules intended for publication. But this will be a renewed principle of democratic centralism, taking into consideration modern realities and our modern understanding of the party's role and the character of inner-party relations.

14 March Plenum Session, Activities Outlined

LD1703095590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1357 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow. 16 Mar (TASS)—As has already been reported, Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, opened the debate at the CPSU Central Committee plenum on 11 March. [passage omitted]

As the result of a secret ballot, N.P. Kustyarev was elected a USSR people's deputy for the CPSU.

On 14 March the CPSU Central Committee plenum examined the question of the nomination of a candidate from the Communist Party for the post of USSR president.

V.A. Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, spoke first on this matter. He proposed M.S. Gorbachev as candidate for the post of president and called upon the plenum to support this candidacy.

The speaker mostly touched upon the economy because today, if we do not resolve the main task, increasing our national income and gross domestic product, then naturally no political reform will last in our country.

The speaker wished the future president success, and wished him to adopt a tough position on questions concerning the economy and to heed the opinion of the republics.

G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, said: The entire party and our entire people see in M.S. Gorbachev a person who is the initiator and leader of the processes of renewal both in the party and in all society. We believe that his prestige upon election to the post of president of the country will largely promote a growth in the prestige and influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the speaker stressed. He added his support to the wishes expressed at the plenum: To continue to persistently and consistently implement work for the harmonization of relations in the union, and strengthening the sovereignty of the union republics and filling it with real content.

N.I. Malkov, first secretary of the Chita Oblast CPSU Committee, noted that the communists of the Transbaykal region and an absolute majority of working people—the election campaign to local soviets demonstrated this—are united in their opinion about the potential candidacy for the post of the country's president. At the same time, the speaker raised the issue: Is the CPSU leader standing staunchly by the position of tomorrow concerning the combination of the offices of party and state leader? I consider, said the oblast committee secretary, that it is in no way possible to permit a weakening of our viewpoint, of our opinion and any other decision of this issue. The leader of the state should remain the party leader. If this does not happen, then the party's position as the ruling party will be rocked very strongly.

Yu. V. Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the United States, stressed that we are passing through a crucial, decisive stage in the emergence of the policy of perestroyka and the formation of a new image of the Soviet Union. The formation of a genuinely all-popular state is ending with the adoption of a decision about the introduction of the post of USSR president for the first time in our country's history. This bears immense signicance for all Soviet people, and for our party. As for foreign policy, a constitutional basis is being created for the full-scale and assured implementation of the policy of new thinking. Thereby unprecedented opportunities are opening up for construction of the world on a basis of cooperation and universal values, and genuine peace. The peoples await this.

These goals stem from the very sources of the idea of democratic socialism. The main thing is for the policy of perestroyka to bring the most weighty practical results possible for the peoples of our country in all spheres of their life and activity. The speaker expressed confidence that the candidacy of such a prestigious and major political figure as M.S. Gorbachev corresponds in the best possible way to the task of effective use for such purposes of the post of president of the Soviet Union.

P.K. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, is given the floor. He said, inter alia: After the vote on the third section, we all congratulated each other. I think that indeed this is a great victory. Our deputation will vote for M.S. Gorbachev.

Ya. Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, who spoke on behalf of the representatives of the republic's Communist Party, supported the nomination of M.S. Gorbachev to the post of president. He expressed the desire that Mikhail Sergeyevich should draft without delay the law on the new model of the union. This matter is urgent. The issue must be examined, and the draft of the new union treaty must be elaborated as quickly as possible, he said.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee' Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is given the floor. the head of the government informed the plenum of the unanimous viewpoint of the Politburo: To recommend and seek the election of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as the country's president. Only he, stressed N.I. Ryzkov, can lead the country today.

I would like continued the chairman of the Council of Ministers, at least that no aftertaste should remain among those present from the "exchange of courtesies", as the comrades called it, during the work of the congress. Mikhail Sergeyevich and I are friends and like-minded people. He and I have been proceeding side by side for many years now. I cannot say that we only pat each other's backs. We discuss fundamental issues in a principled manner. But, I must say that we are like-minded on strategic matters. And what happened today evidently was my fault.

Simply, the comrade who spoke so irritated me that perhaps my speech was excessively emotional. This comrade is glimpsed too frequently at the rostrum.

I am speaking about the beginning of my speech, which left a definite aftertaste both among the members of the Central Committee and among the other comrades. I still subscribe to the rest of what I said. I want the comrades to know that my position is firm. I am proceeding with Gorbachev.

Plenum Debate Speeches

*PM1903171990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Mar 90 Second Edition pp 1-2*

[CPSU Central Committee Plenum debate speeches delivered 14 March under the general heading "On the Nomination of Candidates from the CPSU for the Post of President of the USSR"]

[Text] **V.A. Masol (Member of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers)**

Well, I am first to speak and perhaps I have gauged the mood of the hall right. I want to propose Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for the post of President.

I would like to support that candidacy because today, in the general situation created in our country, I consider that we must now wholly support Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's candidacy for the post of president for the purpose of normalizing the political situation.

We are going to discuss article 3 today, we have a movement called "Rukh" and we talked with them. They see no alternative at the moment either.... Therefore, I repeat, I propose that we support this candidacy. And I would like to express my wishes to you, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

I should like to deal mainly with the economy because unless we fully resolve the main task—if we do not increase national income and gross social product, which we have stopped talking about recently—in that case, of course, no political reform will work in our country. Why?

The most important thing today, I think, Mikhail Sergeyevich, is that it is necessary to talk bluntly about this and adopt a single decision. Why have all our neighbors—Czechoslovakia, Hungary—partially closed their borders whereas we are exporting consumer goods? What should be done here? It is necessary to take a decision on the temporary closure of the border, it is necessary not to give rise to speculation. In our country a person earns 15,000 per trip. Work out just how much money we are exporting. That unbalances our market.

Second. Throughout the world the wages fund is controlled. Here you can take whatever you like and pay it as wages. What should be done here for that kind of control? For some reason we have forgotten certain economic laws. All that needs to be done, after all, is to observe them. Therefore I believe that these should be among our new president's first steps.

We have now begun to introduce wholesale trade in the country. But how have we begun that? Only theoretically, "academically," I would say, because we have reduced the volumes of production and are exporting scrap metal. Our metal workers, however, are idle because of a lack of scrap metal but we say: This is wholesale trade. The principle is simple: If you want to sell abroad first satisfy our market, increase production volumes, then sell abroad. I will let you sell 50 percent of your extra production.

I did not always speak on economic questions. This grieves me. And, as they say, we today, our republic, we are still holding firm. But I do not want us in the future to get into the situation of some of our enterprises. These are the main questions of our economy. Why has wholesale trade now been introduced in the construction industry? I propose that it be suspended for 2 years. Why? We must reduce the number of construction workers by 85,000. And why must we do that? What, does Comrade Voronin not understand this question? He does. Why have we taken the example of construction workers today? What will we do with these people? Or are we deliberately creating unemployment? We have a system here. Why are we tearing it down? We must tackle these questions.

I should like to wish that you, as future president (and I shall vote for you), will take a firm stand on economic questions and heed the opinion of the republics. Because recently people haven't been heeding us on economic matters. We send a letter—forgive me, Nikolay Ivanovich, but the Council of Ministers does not even issue instructions on the questions that we raise.... And there is something else I want to say. The electivity of leaders must be abolished.

G.G. Gumbaridze (First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee)

On behalf of the Georgian Communist Party representatives as well as the Georgian deputies at the Congress, I propose that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev be nominated for the post of President of the country.

Our entire party and all the people see in Comrade Gorbachev the initiator and leader of the processes of renewal both of our party and of all society.

We consider that M.S. Gorbachev's prestige on his election to the post of the country's president will greatly help increase the prestige and influence of the CPSU. My wish—which has already been expressed—is to continue persistently and consistently working to harmonize relations in our Union to strengthen and the union republics' sovereignty and fill it with real content.

N.I. Malkov (Member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of Chita CPSU Obkom [oblast committee])

The Communists of the Transbaykal and the vast majority of the oblast's working people, as shown by the election campaign for the local soviets and republic organs of power, are unanimous in their opinion on the possible candidacy for election as President of our country. They are unanimous on the candidacy of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. And even if some suggestions in this vein were expressed at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, hardly any of us are inclined to take them as serious objections.

At the same time, there are two questions which, I think, should be discussed now, at any event we should think about them. Certain incidents in our congress' work have given me more or less the following impression: Is our party's leader adhering firmly to the position of the past on combining the posts of leader of the party and of the state? Mikhail Sergeyevich, comrade members of the Central Committee, and participants in our plenum, I believe that in present conditions there cannot be any slackening of our viewpoint or our opinion, there cannot be any other solution to this question. At the Congress of

People's Deputies today it was stated that there will be time to discuss this and adopt the necessary decisions at the 28th CPSU Congress. Talk—yes, discuss—yes, but the decision, in my view, should be unambiguous: The leader of the state must continue to be the leader of the party. Otherwise, the position of the party as the ruling force will be very greatly weakened.

Second, Mikhail Sergeyevicn. Clearly, we were all equally struck by what happened at the Congress today in connection with Comrade Sobchak's unrestrained speech. But it wasn't even that which struck me most of all. There cannot be an exchange of rejoinders like that, I think, between leaders at state level such as happened today at the Congress.... I think that between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, between you, there must be a closer link in work than ever before, there must be mutual support, mutual assistance. You can count on us equally in the government, the party Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo. But when time after time one sees such a variation of views at the same, impermissibly high level, this, in my view, poses an extraordinary danger both to the party and the leadership of the country. I wanted to make that point clearly and and I ask for your support.

Yu.V. Dubinin (Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, USSR Ambassador to the United States)

Comrades, it is obvious to everyone that we are now going through a responsible and crucial stage in shaping the policy of perestroyka and molding the new image of the Soviet Union. The formation of what is truly a state of all the people is ending with the adoption of a decision to introduce the post of President of the USSR essentially for the first time in our entire history. This is of tremendous significance for all Soviet people and for our party.

As regards foreign policy, the constitutional basis is being created for the full-scale and confident implementation of the policy of the new thinking. In so doing unprecedented opportunities are created for building peace on a basis of cooperation and common human values, true peace. The peoples expect this.

I am sure that the origin of these aims lies at the very source of the causes of democratic socialism.

The main thing now is that the policy of perestroyka should produce the weightiest possible practical results for our country's peoples in all spheres of their life and activity.

I think that the nomination of such a prestigious and important politician as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is best suited to making effective use of the post of President of the Soviet Union for these purposes.

P.K. Luchinskiy (Member of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Supreme Soviet)

After the Congress vote on section three we all congratulated one another. I consider this a truly great victory. Like other comrades, I am making the following proposal: Since we are all of the same opinion, I think that it is now possible simply to move on to a vote. The question, in my view, is clear. All our deputies will vote for Mikhail Sergeyevich.

Next. I support N.I. Malkov. Of course, this episode left an unpleasant taste in our mouths and before the end of the Congress, perhaps, a form should be found to ease the tension created by this "exchange of pleasantries," as you called it. But you know, of course, that everyone follows every detail very closely now.

One last point. A one-hour recess has been called and if we delay we will again fuel all kinds of conjecture: What actually happened at the Plenum?

J.J. Vagris (Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee)

I shall be very brief, comrades. On behalf of the representatives of the Latvian Communist Party present here and, I am sure, also on behalf of the overwhelming majority of our republic's deputies, even though we have not met or carried out a poll, I support M.S. Gorbachev's nomination to the post of President of the USSR. Mikhail Sergeyevich needs no testimonials because he is in front of us every day and we know him well. The only thing that I think we should wish Mikhail Sergeyevich as presidential candidate is this: Everything is put off here, there is no time for a law on the new model of our union. However, this brooks no delay, this question must be examined and a model of a new contractual union treaty must be worked out more quickly.

N.I. Ryzhkov (Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers)

Esteemed comrades! I would like to convey the Politburo's view to the Central Committee Plenum, but before the plenum we discussed the question that the recommendation for the post of president—and this was our unanimous decision—should go to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and that we should strive for his election, I stress that point, strive for his election. There were no other opinions expressed among us and I am saying this on behalf of the Politburo.

Second. I want to say on my own behalf that it is necessary to struggle for Mikhail Sergeyevich: only he can lead the country today.

And third. I would like to tell you that at least among those present here the "exchange of pleasantries" during the work of the Congress, as some comrades put it, left no bitter taste in the mouth. Mikhail Sergeyevich and I are friends and like-minded people. We have worked side by side for many years now. I cannot say that we always see eye to eye. We discuss questions of principle in a principled way. But I must say that on strategic questions we are like-minded. What happened today, clearly, was my fault. It is simply that a comrade who was speaking got on my nerves so much that perhaps my speech was unduly emotional. That comrade appears on the rostrum too often....

I am talking about the beginning of my speech, which left Central Committee members and other comrades with a certain aftertaste. As for the rest, I stand by what I said. I want comrades to know that my position is firm, I am with Gorbachev. And let there be no uncertainty about what happened. (Applause)

Interregion Group Meets; Yeltsin Not at Congress

LD1603163190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Ivan Vladimirov reports: At the meeting of the Interregional Group of Deputies (IGD) which took place here today, its participants discussed the results of their activity at the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies which ended yesterday. The Interregional Group of Deputies unites around 400 (although that figure fluctuates) from almost 2,250 USSR people's deputies and is a kind of "left-wing radical parliamentary opposition."

The IGD opposed the election of the first president of the USSR at the Congress, insisting that his elections be direct and universal; however, it was defeated: 1,542 deputies voted for the election of the president at the Congress, 368 against, and 76 abstained. The majority of the participants of the Congress considered that in the present conditions of the difficult economic situation and the exacerbation of social conflicts, there should not be universal elections which require long preparation. Numerous amendments to the Constitution, on whose introduction members of the IGD insisted, did not get through either.

Almost all those who spoke at today's meeting criticized the acivity of the group at the congress unambiguously. "The Inter- regional Deputy Group turned out to be completely unprepared....," said Vladimir Desyatov, the deputy form Komsomolsk-on-Amur (Khabarovsk Kray). "We were not even able to get together in the intervals."

The speech at the congress by the historian, Yuriy Afanasyev, one of the co-chairpersons of the group, was also criticized; after he had set forth the platform of the Interregional Deputy Group on the issue of the presidency, he concluded with some pointed utterances with regard to V.I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, which gave rise to indignation in the auditorium. It was also mentioned that Yuriy Afanasyev and another co-chairperson, Gavriil Popov, had left on the second day of the congress, and that yet another co- chairperson, Boris Yeltsin, had not attended it at all, as a result of which the Interregional Deputy Group was left without a leader.

Vladimir Zubkov, a doctor from Rostov-on-Don, who is, in his own words, "the most left-wing radical" member of the group, is one of the few who thinks that the Interregional Deputy Group has become firmly established after the defeat. He spoke in favor of strict internal discipline in the group, even if it is to the detriment of its numbers.

That point of view was not supported, however: Most of the speakers were in favor of the group being a broad union of various platforms and views. The most optimistic speech was perhaps that of Yuriy Afanasyev, who believes that it is wrong to speak of the group's performance at the congress in a minor key only. He sees the group's futures as the "initiating and coordinating center of all democratic movements in the country."

Most of those who spoke, however, set more modest aims. Viktor Lisitskiy, a deputy from Nikolayev (the Ukraine) appealed against any attempt at present to act as an organized parliamentary opposition: Instead, the group should concentrate on working out an overall stance.

Ligachev Queried on Successes of Perestroyka

PM1903153690 Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 17 Mar 90 pp 82-83

[Interview with CPSU Politburo member Yegor Ligachev by Guy Sorman in Moscow—date not given]

[Text] [Sorman] Perestroyka is a failure. The USSR, which for a long time was a beacon to our intellectuals and to many people has become a warning light. What can you still contribute to the rest of the world?

[Ligachev] The people most critical of the Soviets are the Soviets themselves, our own historians and intellectuals. This masochism has become excessive. Nonetheless, we ought not to forget that we are still a great power and that no international decision can be made without our agreement. By dint of self-denigration, we are forgetting to celebrate our economic successes, our victory against fascism, and the construction of our industry in record time, unparalleled in mankind's history.

In all sincerity (Ligachev often begins his sentences with this expression, which prompts an ironical reaction from many Soviets—LE FIGARO MAGAZINE editor's note), I admit that this has been achieved at the cost of enormous suffering—but the results are positive—and Stalinism's survivors remained convinced Communists. This proves that it is not communism which is being questioned in our country.

[Sorman] Does this mean that the CPSU has a future in the USSR?

[Ligachev] Our situation has nothing to do with that of Eastern Europe. The CPSU is our history. It is the only organization capable of holding together all the nations and all the groups which make up the USSR. The CPSU, even if it no longer has a monopoly of representation, will still continue to lead the USSR. It cannot become a minority party.

[Sorman] Are you for or against perestroyka?

[Ligachev] I am for it. Perestroyka proves that the USSR is still at the head of the great nations. Imagine just one other set of people capable of fundamentally questioning all its habits! Only we Soviets have been capable of such an effort, and that proves our vitality. If perestroyka is not working well, it is simply because it is badly designed. The increase in wages and the autonomy of enterprises have produced ridiculous results: the creation of additional purchasing power when there is nothing to buy in the stores! But the most serious mistake is not technical; it is philosophical.

Instead of denigrating history, it was necessary to appeal to the memory of our past heroes to urge the people to imitate them and work hard. This is how Stalin gained ground, by awakening heroes. But we are now doing the opposite; we are explaining that our whole history is black, that it is odious, whereas it is certainly complex but glorious. I, who travel widely in the heart of Russia, can tell you that the people are tired of those Moscow intellectuals denigrating our past.

[Sorman] Your reference to glorious heroes brings you close to Slavophile groupings, which are very active at the moment and which are nationalist or even anti-Semitic.

[Ligachev] I have sympathy for all those who are trying to breathe life into our national culture—I am from Siberia—but I am not a chauvinist—chauvinism is odious.

[Sorman] We are currently witnessing a timid recognition of the right to private property, particularly for peasants. But the conservatives are very hostile to that, whereas it seems to me that it is the only way of reviving the economy.

[Ligachev] Those who defend private property are making a serious error of judgment. Take the example of agriculture and ask why it is lagging behind the United States and why we fail to produce between 20 and 30 percent of our food. The collective farms in Russia produce little because they are underequipped and because they are collective. A Russian kolkhoz member now has technical means equivalent to those of an American farmer in the fifties. Well, our yield is exactly the same as that of U.S. agriculture 40 years ago. In addition, our problems are not so much at the level of production as in harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing. Here, too, the return to private ownership will not change anything: What we need is to invest and provide technical solutions. I see no drawback to there being a few family farms as a back-up, and a few industrial cooperatives. But it is public enterprise, the kolkhoz, which will continue to be the heart of the Soviet economy.

[Sorman] What about the USSR? What will remain of it? Lithuania has gone; tomorrow it will be Georgia, and Belorussia. You said that tanks should not be sent to Vilnius but that "political solutions" should be found. Does this mean that you reject Lithuania's independence?

[Ligachev] The decision made by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has no legal foundation. Moreover, many workers' collectives in Lithuania disagree with this so-called independence. The Lithuanians forget that they have grown rich through their association with the USSR and that we supply them with all their energy at a very low price. It is quite unthinkable for the nations in the USSR to separate when our economies are completely interdependent. Moreover, at present we are working on a legal formula which will enable each people to be more autonomous within the Soviet Union. Pending this document, there can be no unilateral declaration of independence by anybody.

[Sorman] Yegor Ligachev, you are rather unpopular in the Soviet press, which does not like conservatives, and you are not very popular in the West, either. You are anti-Gorbachev, which may in fact do Gorbachev a service.

[Ligachev] I am well aware of all the ill spoken of me in the West. My unpopularity may be accentuated by the media because I am not a dreamer, but a realist. Politics is the very difficult art of managing reality. This is not the best way of making yourself popular but, in all sincerity, it is true. [Ligachev ends]

At that point, Yegor Ligachev hurriedly left me to elect the new president of the republic at the Congress of People's Deputies. For whom will he vote? For Gorbachev this time. But Ligachev is only 70 years old and has a future.

KGB Investigating Attempted Sale of Tanks

LD1903135290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1342 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Mar (TASS)—The USSR Procuracy is investigating the criminal case of the criminal abuses in the "ANT" [Autonomous-Science-Equipment] interbranch state-cooperative concern.

At the end of December 1989, 12 combat tanks addressed to "ANT," intended, according to preliminary data, for transportation abroad, were held at the port of Novorossiysk.

The investigation has established that certain officials of the aviation, defense, and radio industries, and also of organizations conducting foreign economic activity, arbitrarily breaking the rules of entry to the foreign market, created special conditions for the "ANT" concern to acquire strictly stockpiled materials within the country and to sell them abroad without licenses. This was in violation of existing procedure, in particular decision No 203 of the USSR Council of Ministers of 7 March 1989, "On measures of state regulation of foreign economic activity," which prohibits the export of military equipment and the purchase and resale abroad of stockpiled materials by enterprises.

Dozens of enterprises and organization were drawn into the orbit of the concern's commercial interests. Deals were concluded for the sale to foreign firms of goods and materials in dire shortage, including some of a strategic nature—aircraft engines for combat planes.

In this connection, a number of ministries and the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers grossly disregarded USSR Government instruction No 924 of 30 May 1989, on the creation of ANT, according to which its foreign economic deals were restricted to the use of secondary raw materials and waste products from the production process in exchange for the import of consumer commodities.

The USSR Government and the law enforcement bodies took measures to cut short the squandering of the national wealth and infringements of the established procedure for selling military equipment and materials that are in short supply to foreign countries.

Experts and specialists from the auditing and control apparatus have been called in to check on the financial and economic operations of ANT and its numerous departments throughout the country.

The investigative team of the USSR Procuracy includes experienced detectives and agents of the KGB and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The investigation is establishing who had a part in the abuses and criminal negligence. It is revealing the damage done to the state, and the causes and conditions which have given rise to grave violations of legality and state discipline.

Sale Refuted

LD1903133890 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] "The Defence Ministry has nothing to do with the attempt by the ANT concern to sell twelve T-72 tanks abroad," Colonel General Grigoriy Krivosheyev, deputy head of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, told TASS.

The USSR Public Prosecutor's Office brought criminal proceedings against the ANT inter-branch state-cooperative concern amid rumours about the complicity of the Defence Ministry in this affair.

"It is Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defence minister, who requested the public prosecutor's office to bring the ANT to trial," Krivosheyev stressed.

He said that the Defence Ministry was itself purchasing tanks from arms-manufacturing plants and had never exported any weapons or military hardware. He explained that only the country's foreign economic institutions can export military hardware.

According to Krivosheyev, the Military Receiving Commission at the Urals arms manufacturing plant did not receive those 12 tanks, they were not recorded at the Defence Ministry. Krivosheyev explained that this consignment of tanks was to be exported by the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, but at the last moment the contract was broken by the customer.

In violation of the Soviet regulations concerning the export of military hardware, the ANT concern purchased the consignment of tanks late last year, intending to export it. "It was stopped in time at the Novorossiisk trade port (on the Black Sea coast)," Krivosheyev said.

Journalist Argues for Multiparty System

PM1203145690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Vasinskiy article under the rubric "Political Diary": "On the Verge of Saying Good-Bye to Article 6?"]

[Text] What is happening to our country at the moment is the birth pangs of a new, free life. Those candidate deputies who, at recent election meetings, promised the country calm in the near future and the disappearance of tension could hardly have foreseen what lies in store for all of us. To all appearances, an easy birth is not foreseen. For a whole series of reasons. And, to continue the metaphor, it could be said that even an experienced midwife (and History is a very experienced midwife) would not guarantee that everything will pass off without complications.

But I am convinced that we are prepared to suffer much, if only the child we are expecting can enter the world—and this child will indeed be the fruit of suffering, we have been waiting so long for it! And even then, our worries will not be over, the most important ones are only just beginning, because as one profound thinker rightly pointed out, freedom always comes under attack and is therefore always in danger, and where that danger is no longer perceived, freedom is almost lost....

The establishment of a free society is a lengthy, complex process with many components. But it is not for nothing, not in vain, that public opinion has now focused on the question of repealing Article 6 of the Constitution, which proclaims that the CPSU is the "leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system and state and social organizations."

Some readers call us and ask: "Why is everyone so fixated on Article 6? Does much really depend on whether something is down in writing or is repealed?"

True. And everyone realizes that the elimination of a particular point in a given document does not mean that the phenomenon designated by that point is automatically eliminated, too. The party has traveled such a path, accumulated—despite all the complaints against it—such political and organizational experience, and created such an infrastructure that the repeal of the article dealing with its role and an actual change in its role may appear to be only hypothetically connected. All the same, the repeal of Article 6 is an act without which political pluralism, and ultimately political freedom as it is commonly understood worldwide, is impossible. I am not a party member, but if I were, I would be all the more inclined to vote against Article 6, through concern for my party's prestige and dignity. There are things that it is better to say freely yourself than to hear from others. There is boldness in retreat. It is possible to grow by division. And it is to the party's credit that at its own February plenum of the Central Committee it declared readiness to revise Article 6.

The party's renunciation of the monopoly of power—this question is far wider than merely a party question, it touches on the fundamentals of the existence and development of our society, which is, however, for the most part made up of nonparty people. It is basically a question of the extent to which it is reasonable for an article of the party Statutes to be elevated to the status of an article of the Constitution of a country with a population of nearly 300 million.

A monopoly exercised by one party—any party!—harms primarily the party itself. When all the mechanisms of control and administration, law enforcement organs, mass media, and so forth are accountable to and under the control of a single center, true democracy, glasnost, political debate, and a real quest for the best solutions are scarcely possible. The system condemns itself to abuses and errors for which (if they cannot be concealed) it takes measures against itself, corrects itself, reprimands itself.... True, political history shows that even a multiparty system is not always a guarantee of true freedom, but it shows even more convincingly that monopolism necessarily and inevitably results in lack of freedom.

For me, frankly speaking, it has always been hard to understand—how can anyone declare themselves, for decades, without a contest, without a free vote, to be the sole, chief, "leading and guiding" principle? Did destiny itself, or some higher force, predetermine this status for a group of people, or even a large stratum of people? Or does it have to be the case, in our society, that some are primordially leaders, while others are equally primordially the led?

However, all these considerations are flung down in the wake of a train that has already moved off: The question of the proposal to repeal Article 6 was predetermined by the Central Committee's February plenum. The question is what to do next. People will say: Who are you, that anyone should listen to you? But this is a question on which we should listen to anyone at all, the sensible thing to do is to hear anyone and everyone. Because we can all see that as long as distrust and mutual disrespect can be observed between the emerging opposition forces and those who are customarily called the "ruling circles," fear and suspicion will remain. The opposition "pressures" the upper strata with rallies, ultimatums, and gloomy prophesies, it is sometimes insufferably arrogant (arrogance from below can be very aggressive). And the "upper strata"? They too resent the lack of respect, accuse people of being "power-hungry," and so forth.

These mutual grievances are the consequence of the underdevelopment of our political ideas, our political culture, the consequence of the failure to understand what politics is, what a real political struggle is, and what are the responsibilities both of those who win that struggle and of those who concede defeat. This is yet another argument in favor of the view that contact between the authorities and the opposition should be a normal, everyday event in political life. The opposition? Yes, the opposition. Power-hungry? Why should it not claim power, or a proportion of power? Only let it make that claim by lawful means, in full awareness of its responsibility and the validity of its claims not only in essence, but in form. Dissidence must be constructively built into the system of political institutions. We must not see each other as enemies.

...No doubt no one would say that the present moment is a simple one for our country. The midwives crowd around, sometimes getting in each other's way. True, we are not yet able to determine confidently whether each of them wants to help in the birth of the little one. But life will take its course in the end—and what society expects will come to birth. We have suffered for it. For a long time.

Economic

Official Stresses Importance of Price Reform

LD1403121290 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—Price reforms are a key part of efforts to reform the Soviet economy, Vyacheslav Senchagov, who heads the Soviet Committee on Prices, told TASS.

Senchagov was taking part in an international conference "The Soviet Union in the World Economy" in Moscow.

Summarizing the faults of the current Soviet pricing system, Senchagov said it was estranged from real state costs, and world prices. Soviet prices defy the balance between supply and demand, he said.

All this prompts fat state subsidies amounting to 110 billion rubles a year. The sum threatens to top 140 billion rubles, unless prices are reformed, he said.

Aside from huge subsidies, the economy is plagued by a 92 billion ruble budget deficit, coupled with 165 billion rubles of unspent money and an annual emmission of 18 billion.

Current prices are the major culprit of the current economic turmoil and only drastic changes can cure the economy, Senchagov said.

Price reforms envisage changes in the structure and the composition of the price, which shall contain the cost of resources, entail more equal profit levels on key products and a different balance between state-fixed and market prices.

Prices of fuel, electricity, metals, raw materials and large machinery will remain fixed, while other products, including retail goods, will shed state subsidies.

Reforms envisage a flexible, democratic and highly-organised system of price control, he said.

Price reforms are designed to improve macro-regulation over the money circulating on the market and lessen its influence on prices, Senchagov said, explaining that excessive demand is a major price- boosting factor which has to be staved off.

They also aim to expand production and bring more goods onto the market.

However, the reforms are impossible without popular consent, Senchagov believes.

"We hope we will succeed in convincing the people that not every price hike is bad," he said.

Criticisms of goverment efforts in this sphere should be constructive, he added.

Success of Social Reorientation of Economy Viewed

904A0242A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Yu. Rytov: "The Incorrigible Optimism of Figures"]

[Text] As one can see from the summaries of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, large structural changes related to the social reorientation of the economy are now taking place in the national economy.

Last year the proportion of the national income used for current consumption and nonproduction construction exceeded 83 percent as compared to 82.3 percent in the preceding year. It would seem that this is not a great difference—only tenths of a percentage point. But in absolute figures the changes that have taken place recently look quite impressive. And they undoubtedly deserve careful analysis.

The fact is that for many decades our social production has had an extremely deformed structure. It has been oriented mainly toward the development of heavy industry and not at all toward the consumer of the final product. Why has this happened? For a simple reason. The development of the national economy itself has been extensive in nature. We have become accustomed to achieving even extremely modest results not through ability but through quantity. There is also the economy's lack of receptivity to scientific and technical progress, the neglect of resource-saving technologies, and the horrible mismanagement expressed in the constant bolstering of the base branches with more and more capital investments.

And therefore the proportion of accumulation in the utilization of the national income has been considerably higher here than in other developed countries, and consumption has been considerably lower.

In 1986, for example, the national income used for consumption and accumulation in our country was 576 billion rubles [R] (in actual prices). Consumption accounted for 427.6 billion (74.2 percent).

The accumulation fund looked like this: The overall sum was R148.4 billion (25.0 percent). Of this amount 87 billion (15.1 percent) was spent on increasing fixed capital, including 50.4 billion (8.7 percent) on production capital (including livestock) and 36.6 billion (6.4 percent) on nonproduction capital.

Now let us turn to the structure of the utilization of the national income last year. Its overall volume was R651.9 billion. The consumption fund increased to 501.6 billion (76.9 percent). For accumulation we spent 150.3 billion (23.1 percent), including for increasing fixed capital—79.9 billion (12.3 percent), of which we spent 38.2 billion (5.9 percent) for production capital and 41.7 billion (6.4 percent) for nonproduction capital.

From these comparisons it is possible to draw two important conclusions. First, the consumption fund increased significantly not only in absolute figures but also relatively. In the second place, expenditures on nonproduction construction (housing, schools, hospitals, and so forth) considerably outstripped investments in the production sphere.

A natural question arises here: What specifically did the Soviet person get as a result of the changes?

The reorientation of the economy toward the social sphere was manifested especially clearly in the essential reduction of the growth rates of group B as compared to group A. Specifically, last year the increase in products of group B amounted to 4.8 percent and of group A—0.7 percent. A seven-fold difference! For comparison: In 1988 this was a 1.6-fold difference, in 1987—1.1-fold, and in 1986 the increase in products of group B lagged behind the increase in products of group A.

But figures do not put food on the table. Empty shelves in the stores show that the level reached in the production of group B cannot satisfy the needs of the population for goods and that the shortage of many kinds of goods is not only not decreasing but has even increased.

At the same time the low growth rates of products of group A also greatly aggravated the situation in many branches of the national economy. In particular there was a reduction in the production of a number of the most important kinds of industrial products. Among them were motor vehicles, tractors, railroad cars, metal cutting tools. If this were not bad enough! There were greater disproportions and a greater lack of coordination in the development of individual branches. New difficulties arose in the material and technical support for many enterprises. As concerns the fuel-energy and transportation complexes obtaining subsidies, they are becoming the poverty zones of the economy, threatening it with further destabilization.

We have not even pulled out our head and our tail is already stuck...

Certain economists are inclined to explain the situation that has developed in group A by the mass strikes and also the reduction of production in a number of branches as a result of inadequate economic protection. All that is true. The strikes alone last year led to losses of more than seven million man-days and direct losses of products (work not performed) amounted to R0.8 billion.

But we must not fail to pay attention to another, even more significant factor in the interruption of production programs and the deepening disproportions. It has to do with the grossest shortcomings of our investment policy.

Here again we should return to figures that characterize the distribution of our national income. Excessive sums have been spent on increasing fixed capital. But what kind of return have they produced?

An analysis of affairs in capital construction shows that its chronic lagging behind the planned assignments was even worse last year. The annual assignment for the introduction of fixed capital from state capital investments (from the sum of plans of enterprises and organizations) was fulfilled by only 92 percent.

We failed to fulfill the startup program for introducing the most important production capacities: Every second object of the state order (taking into account those carried over from 1988) was not put into operation. Of the 359 startup objects of the state order only 145, or 40 percent, were accepted (in 1988—59 percent). Moreover, of the 193 objects carried over from last year 133, or 69 percent, were accepted.

As a result, in the national economy as a whole the volume of utilized state capital investments essentially exceeded the introduction of fixed capital by R27.6 billion. Naturally, there was also an increase in the amount of incomplete construction. As of the end of 1989 its volume reached R180.9 billion, including R39 billion above the norm. It is here that we find the deep source of the new shortage of material and financial resources.

But the saddest fact is that the rates of housing and social- cultural construction have slowed. Last year for the first time during the years of the five-year plan we failed to fulfill the plan for the introduction of housing in the country. The amount of housing put into operation was 4.3 million square meters less than in the preceding year.

The situation is even worse with all the other social and cultural facilities.

Thus the social reorientation of the economy is certainly not going as smoothly as we would like it to. So are we again to blame it on the difficulties of the transition period when the economy has become uncontrollable and the disparity between the plan and the action has increased?

Of course this is possible. But it would be better to take up economic reform more energetically, restoring stability on new principles—self-regulation, economic accountability, and market relations. The structural changes must not only be determined by the real needs of the society but they must be backed up by inventive and purposeful actions on the part of labor collectives and all Soviet people.

Goals of Antimonopoly Draft Law Described

904A0231A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report on interview with P. Katsura, first deputy chairman of the Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers on Economic Reform, by I. Zhagel, IZVESTIYA correspondent; date and occasion not specified: "How to Overcome Monopoly"]

[Text] **The level of centralization of control and concentration of production that has been carried to an absurdity has become one of the main impediments in our country to scientific and technical progress and to an improvement in the quality of goods produced. It is not by chance that on 2 March, at a regular meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers Commission on Economic Reform, that preliminary findings were heard on the work of a special group of scientists and specialists of the national economy which was commissioned to develop a draft antimonopoly program for our national economy. An IZVESTIYA correspondent talks about this with P. Katsura, the first deputy chairman of the commission.**

[Zhagel] Petr Makarovich, as far as I know, a half year ago an interdepartmental group under the union Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] prepared a draft of antimonopoly legislation. Why was this document not discussed anywhere, but now a new creative collective has emerged?

[Katsura] First, the development of such a program is a direct charge of the Second Congress of People's Deputies to the government. Second, in addition to the draft of the USSR Gossnab, there are similar proposals by other collectives, in particular, by the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the United States of America and Canada Institute—someone has to summarize all of this. Well, in addition, today we cannot limit ourselves to a simple preparation of antimonopoly laws, even if they are very progressive.

The antimonopoly program is bound to be much broader, and it must provide for practical ways of creating competitive principles in our economy. We have to develop mechanisms for economic counteraction to monopolies and to stimulate the diversification of enterprises. It is possible that there will be a need to build new plants somewhere that are parallel to already existing factories. An important place in the program will be taken up, so to say, by subprograms for the development of small enterprises.

It will also be necessary to develop—in addition to antimonopoly legislation—a number of other normative documents. Let us say, rules of honest competition and rules for competition on the international market.

And, of course, the antimonopoly program must be closely interwoven with the program for the transition to market relationships in the national economy. One without the other is simply inconceivable. It is not possible to create a market, if there will be no producers here who are competing with each other, and if the consumer will not have an opportunity to make a choice. On the other hand, only enterprises that are free in their economic activity can compete, and this means that the success of the antimonopoly program depends directly on the laws that are being examined now in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Moreover, the adoption of the Law on Property will already promote the emergence of competition between its forms.

[Zhagel] What do you think is the most difficult thing in your work?

[Katsura] It is very important to accurately draw up a general concept of the program, which we are actually engaged in doing now. We are trying to define what is most suitable for us from foreign experience in the fight against monopoly—their legislative prohibition, as in the United States, the measures that are being employed in Europe that have a restrictive effect, or the state-market regulation that prevails in Japan? Although, clearly, this division is rather conditional. We will also try to approach the problem in a comprehensive way, utilizing everything that is best here. Well, and of course, success cannot be achieved if the features of monopoly in our economy are not identified.

[Zhagel] Do you think, so to say, that we have our own version?

[Katsura] Unquestionably, there are peculiarities. For example, where will you find such a system of distribution of resources as there is in our economy? Monopoly here is practically absolute.

Or here is another of our features. While in the West monopolists are principally only large firms, in our country now, under conditions of shortages occurring everywhere and the problematical character of entering markets in other countries, even small enterprises can be categorized as such.

[Zhagel] It turns out that until a market is saturated with goods the laws of competition do not operate. But the absence of competition itself does not facilitate saturating a market, inasmuch as it is advantageous for monopolists to maintain a shortage. And they resolve their problems by increasing prices, and not by increasing the volume of production—there are numerous examples of this. How does one break out of this vicious circle?

[Katsura] In order for the laws of competition to work, a certain critical mass of goods has to be created. The development of methods to achieve this is one of the aims of the program. As I have already said, this will require the organization of new enterprises and capacities, together with those already in existence, and an acceleration of the conversion of defense branches of industry, which we are doing now, especially in the sphere of consumer goods production.

But it is also possible to operate in a different way, let us say, reduce taxes and grant favorable credits for the manufacture of one or another product. To fight monopoly and to overcome shortages in some branches, it will also be necessary to link up with foreign firms, creating favorable conditions for them to enter our market.

[Zhagel] Fundamental changes are taking place in our national economy now. Many ministries have been eliminated; however, the concerns and interdepartmental state associations that are taking their place, as a rule, also hold a monopoly position in their spheres. Can this be prevented?

[Katsura] This is a good question. When new structures are established, they are not evaluated from the standpoint of their monopoly position on the market. And this portends many problems for us in the future.

On the other hand, until such time as antimonopoly legislation is developed and adopted, there are no sufficiently sound criteria to cope with these negative phenomena. There is only one way out—to complete the program quicker. Incidentally, many deputies talked about this at the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet during discussions on the Law on Property.

[Zhagel] Well, and what are the prospects here? Will the program that is developed include such measures as the physical breakup of our monopolies into smaller units?

[Katsura] In principle, of course. Although with respect to the large enterprises, this should not be understood in a rudimentary way—there territory should not be partitioned off with fences. Rather the path of diversification and the distribution of orders to several plants should be followed here. But with respect to the new concerns that emerge, as a rule, in place of the ministerial main administrations, it will apparently be necessary to operate more decisively. Simultaneously, it will be necessary to form a network of intermediary organizations, wholesale enterprises, and commercial centers and commodity markets. That is, to create a market infrastructure.

[Zhagel] Is the implementation of the program planned simultaneously for the entire national economy, or will it operate selectively? Because no two branches are alike. For example, the watch industry exists today under conditions of sharp competition between enterprises.

[Katsura] We will have to follow two paths. First, the general principles for combating occurrences of monopoly will be developed. They will define credit and tax policy and the actions of the State Committee on Prices—where and to what extent its interference is justified.

And the second direction is differentiated programs according to branches, taking their peculiarities into account. In the aforementioned watch industry it will be possible in the near future not only to introduce, but also to work out, antimonopoly legislation and rules for honest competition.

[Zhagel] In the United States, all antimonopoly policy questions are worked on by an independent Federal Trade Commission, whose staff is appointed by the president and which proceeds from the interests of the entire economy and not of individual persons. But in our country? What kind of organ should be created for this? Possibly, considering the importance of the problem, a special commission under the Supreme Soviet?

[Katsura] In my opinion, to implement an antimonopoly program, it is necessary to establish such an organ today under the Council of Ministers.

[Zhagel] Incidentally, the authority of the ministries is now being restricted. But then, local soviets are receiving greater rights and capacities. Will this not lead to an exchange of departmental monopoly for regional monopoly?

[Katsura] Such a danger is quite possible. The elements of local precedence are already appearing today in a number of republics and oblasts. It is not a rarity when Soviet organs make decisions that all products produced above that ordered by the state should be sold in the region in question. At first glance this looks like concern for people, but in doing this the normal development of market relations in an integral national economic system is obstructed. Therefore, the antimonopoly program and corresponding legislation should exclude excessive regulation of the activity of enterprises on the part of local authorities as well.

[Zhagel] When will the antimonopoly program be ready?

[Katsura] The draft will be presented for review by the Presidium of the Council of Ministers at the end of March.

Provisions of Draft Ownership Law Explained

904A0227A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by A. Boyko, doctor of economic sciences, chairman of the Subcommittee for Issues of Ownership of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Issues of Economic Reform: "The Essence of Ownership"]

[Text] Ownership is a complex "nut" in the life of societies which proved too hard to crack even for the greatest minds of humanity. For example, Hegel's discourse on land ownership looked, in the words of K. Marx, comical. Contradictions may likewise be found in the views of the classics of Marxism-Leninism on property.

Not only the overall phenomenon of ownership but its every specific form is a problem. Political economy describes property as a special economic relationship: Capital is not a thing but rather the relationship between a capitalist and a hired worker. The law and legal science reduce property to the subject owning the object. This narrow interpretation brings about the fact that under both capitalism and socialism, it is impossible to distinguish between state, individual, and cooperative property from the point of view of their form.

The law regulates ownership rather than economic relations of the people. This is why a full-fledged legal definition of socialist property (which many letter writers suggest) cannot be provided unless, of course, we lapse into the language of declarations. The law codifies one aspect of the form of ownership: Who owns property and on what terms.

I would not have brought these theoretical intricacies to the attention of the reader had I not read letters and articles containing wholesale criticism of the published draft law. Criticism does not begin to describe it! Some oracles inflaming passions related to the draft predict our inescapable return to capitalism and accuse the deputies of the worst sins: The desire to rob the working class of power in a peaceful, parliamentary manner. We, the naive deputies, used to think that power had clung to the bureaucracy...

When it comes to recommendations, the critics, the orthodox adherents of existing socialism, fare considerably worse. Their eloquence is noticeably blunted, and they make well-wishing declarations of this kind: "The state is the owner, and the labor collective is the master."

There is no argument, these slogans sound quite nice. However, this model itself has been tested in almost all the socialist countries, ours included, and has been mercilessly rejected by life.

Reality has shown that an economy does not become efficient without a competing plurality of ownership forms and without the withdrawal of the state from it.

Some people do not agree with this. They say: Arrange for the workers to be paid good wages, and they will forget about the ownership of the means of production. This, however, amounts to an obvious failure to understand real-life economic processes. Productive work stations need to be created and maintained continuously in this condition before good wages can be paid. Who is capable of doing this? Could it be that in all cases it is the state as represented by the management which has been appointed by it? This is deficient even from the strictly organizational point of view.

Our boundless contempt for the property of particular individuals and collectives is an example of neglecting economic regularities in a most amazing manner. After all, we are still saying that we should pay only for labor; paying for property is a bourgeois vestige. However, ownership of the means of production is primarily an economic phenomenon. It developed historically as a special form and only through it was it possible to manufacture and accumulate objects for which there was no biological need on anyone's part. Property develops out of the need for accumulation, maintained K. Marx, because it stands in opposition to labor within the framework of labor.

In the course of the economic process, the owner is more than a mere collector of wealth. He bears the difficult responsibility for accumulating the means of production, ensuring their maintenance and continuous reproduction (in order to remain "afloat"). Finally, there are financial obligations to other subjects. In economic operations, his responsibility is not restricted to his salary (income) as is that of a worker or director of an enterprise but covers all his assets up to the amount of the obligations assumed. He always takes risks, as they say, in a big way. Therefore, whose approach to business is more responsible?! With this in mind, is failing to pay for property and drawing it into economic operations justified?

A modern worker is paid for his labor. Should he not pay for the job provided by the owner? Is it reasonable to say here that any appropriation of a segment of the added labor of a hired worker amounts to exploiting him? The authors of the draft are angrily accused of this sin as well—deliberate introduction of the exploitation of hired labor. However, the form of hired labor is unavoidable in instances when the owner and the worker are not one and the same.

It is possible not to pay for property, but in this case it will not be reproduced, and no efficient economy will emerge. Ultra- patriotic appeals to leave state ownership and the state sector of the economy alone and to assert economic accountability, democratic management, and extensive economic independence are merely wishful thinking. Economic independence belongs in the realm of dreams if the producer does not control the product and the profits. They counter this by saying: Go ahead, provide for such rights in the law. In the course of it, few people understand that doing this means depriving the owner himself of his legitimate rights, that is, once again infringing on state ownership. Even transferring the means of production to the possession (lease) of the labor collective is detrimental to state ownership. The owner appropriates the product (profits), and all newly accumulated production assets become his property rather than that of the state. Alas, it is impossible "to feed the wolves and spare the sheep."

This is why the draft law provides for the modes of partial release of property by the state through leasing and the transformation of enterprises into joint-stock associations. In the course of it, labor collectives themselves will make decisions on transforming enterprises but this will only be possible with the consent of a state organ empowered to manage state assets (yet to be established). This process can very well be regulated; there is no reason for certain people to frighten gullible citizens with the fact that the fate of the state sector is sealed, and our Soviet bourgeoisie will supposedly buy it up.

Many people were particularly frightened by Article 14 of the draft law which allowed the formation of property of the labor collective at state enterprises. I have to dispel these apprehensions as well. In the new version of the draft, this article was omitted for the following reason: As our analysis indicates, collective property is helpless, unlike leasing, because the share of the state will accumulate simultaneously with the share of the collective. A considerably simpler and more transparent mode of providing incentives for the labor collective has been found.

Enterprise employees will be given the right to invest in employee shares, i.e., in the accumulation fund, from both their wages and the share of profits specifically given up by the state (even capitalists do so). Therefore, personal property in the form of labor shares emerges.

Shares are merely a title to property as distinguished from the direct appropriation of enterprise assets. The enterprise remains state property. However, the employee does not stand to lose. His shares provide dividends out of a segment of profits (incidentally, this amounts to payments for his share of property, for participation in accumulation). If he so wishes he may withdraw his share after working for five years or at the time of retirement.

Private property, the second focal issue of the draft law, is one of the trump cards of the "socially orthodox." As is known, small enterprises are efficient and very much needed in many spheres of the economy. The draft law does not proclaim private property as such but rather labor-derived property, that is, property based primarily on the personal labor of citizens. Nonetheless, the guardians of the ideological purity of socialism are warning us again: The millionaires will buy up all plants and factories, not just the small ones. They will not. First of all, the terms and extent of hiring labor will be regulated by the legislation of the USSR and union republics. On the other hand, the labor of a family cannot sustain a sizable enterprise. Second, legislation will specify the kinds of assets whose acquisition or possession by citizens will be forbidden or restricted. Third, under the law every owner will have a duty to ensure socially appropriate conditions, remuneration for labor, and social protection for his hired employees.

Personally, I would also like to see in the law a legal provision to the effect that under any form of ownership a worker who has worked, say, one year is entitled to contribute his share to the property of the business. On the one hand, this would restrict the appetite of owners for hired labor while, on the other, it would ensure for the latter prospects of becoming the masters of property. I agree that this is an infringement on the rights of the owner but only in the matter of accepting another partner in the business rather than with regard to his personal assets on which nobody wants to encroach.

Therefore, we may state that the draft law on ownership does not open up any avenues leading to capitalism. There is no foundation for speculation concerning its individual provisions. To be sure, it would be naive to argue that the draft law contains nothing negative (if it is implemented). Ideal solutions do not exist at all. As a poet said, "You can't multiply your wealth and glory and avoid sins in the process: This situation can only exist in your imagination..."

Scientific

Reportage on Progress of 'Mir' Orbital Flight

Experiments Conducted

LD1603134290 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Anatoliy Solovyov's and Aleksandr Balandin's working day began with a medical check-up. They measured their body masses and checked their muscles conditions in weightlessness.

In keeping with the maintenance programme, the crew will replace certain elements of board [as received] electronic computers with new ones delivered by the Progress-M-3 cargo vehicle.

The "Kontrol" technical experiment was carried out yesterday to check the durability of the cargo module's structures. Acoustic censors were used for the purpose. Experiments to measure micrometeorite flows in near Earth space were carried out by means of the equipment installed on the outside surface of the complex. The influence of opened [as received] space factors on different materials was studied. The data received by earth telemetric facilities is being processed and studied.

The flight of the Mir orbital complex is proceeding normally. Both cosmonauts feel well.

Computer Replacement Scheduled

LD1703230790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] News from space:

Today and tomorrow are working days on board the Mir complex. The deviation from the usual five-day working week is connected with the replacement of one of the computers in the station's movement control system by a more sophisticated one. According to recommendations by specialists, these complex and labor-intensive operations should be completed within quite a short time. The cosmonauts will rest on weekdays.

According to reports from the crew and telemetric information, everything is in order on board. Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin are well and feel fine.

Military

Moiseyev on Presidency's Impact on Armed Forces

PM1603134590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, by unidentified KRASNAYA ZVEZDA parliamentary correspondents; date and place not specified: "Important Step in Military Building"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, answers KRASNAYA ZVEZDA parliamentary correspondents' questions.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Comrade Army General, even though the decision to institute presidential rule in our country has already been made, we would still like to hear your personal opinion on this matter in your capacity as USSR people's deputy and chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff. Do you support the introduction of the institution of the presidency?

[Moiseyev] I support the institution of the post of president as head of state. This, without a shadow of doubt, is an important stage on the path of creating a state which operates on rule-of-law principles. The post of president will make it possible to improve the structure of state power, make it more streamlined and flexible in tackling urgent questions of state and public life, and increase the responsibility of specific people for decisionmaking. As is clear from the law that has been adopted, the president is being given great powers. At the same time, those powers will be exercised under the strict supervision of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, so that there is no question of establishing absolute power or instituting a dictatorship. It is a matter of the strict demarcation of the functions of our state's organs of legislative and executive power.

Our many years of experience of collegial leadership have shown very often that it is not efficient enough, including in the solution of military questions. I would say now that this experience to some extent is no longer valid or relevant, particularly when it is necessary to make prompt decisions and assume responsibility. There are more than enough examples of that.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The USSR president is being given great powers in the leadership of the country's defense and Armed Forces. He will be supreme commander in chief. Does it not seem strange to you, Mikhail Alekseyevich, that when resolving such important questions of military building, the Congress did not give deputies from the Armed Forces an opportunity to express their opinion on them? Isn't their viewpoint of interest to the future supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces?

[Moiseyev] Indeed, we were unfortunately not given a chance to speak even though we had things to say. The question of introducing the post of the president and endowing him with the powers of supreme commander in chief had been comprehensively studied beforehand at the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. That is why there were no particular objections from deputies when the relevant amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution were being discussed. But at the same time, numerous important questions were raised at the Congress, questions requiring a deeper analysis and a comparison of different views and opinions so as to elaborate a single correct position, questions of fundamental importance in the state's political life and in strengthening its defense. And, of course, the comments of the military were, I think, necessary. But I would note that the rights and duties of the USSR president in leading the country's defense and in building and training the Armed Forces will be fully reflected in the Law on Defense that is under preparation on the basis of the amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution.

In view of the fact that the new law adopted by the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies did not provide for the functioning of the Defense Council, it was expedient that it define more clearly the functions of the Presidential Council as well as of the president himself on matters of leading the country's defense. In particular, I would suggest that the president's rights and duties in leading the building, training, and use of the Armed Forces, rights and duties which are of exceptionally great significance for the whole country, be expanded somewhat. I believe that it would even have been better to have set them out in a separate article (in the present version they are contained in Article 127 and are restricted to the solution of just three tasks: coordinating the activity of state organs in ensuring the country's defense; announcing general or partial mobilization; declaring war and also declaring martial law and a state of emergency in individual areas). It is good that the Congress considered our proposal on separating the state of emergency and martial law.

I would like to say once more that martial law has to be imposed with the onset of enemy aggression or the direct threat of such aggression. In areas placed under martial law, all the functions of the organs of state power and administration in the sphere of defense and safeguarding state and public order must be transferred to the military command. Therefore the president must make the decision on that question singlehandedly and there is no need in such circumstances to introduce temporary presidential rule. Under a state of emergency, which is introduced in peacetime in the interests of protecting the USSR and ensuring the safety of its citizens, power must remain in the hands of local organs of power and administration. In that event, I believe, presidential rule may also be introduced.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What else would you have said if you had been able to speak at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies?

[Moiseyev] I would have proposed adding the following rights to the president's powers:

—the approval of Soviet military doctrine and of particularly important programs for the development of armaments and military hardware and also the country's military budget for the five-year plan and the next fiscal year;

—the examination and approval of the strategic line and the principled position on questions of disarmament and the country's security;

—the sanctioning of tests and, in the event of enemy nuclear attack, the right to personally make the decision and issue the authority to use nuclear weapons as a retaliatory measure;

—and the drafting of citizens for active military service and the discharge of servicemen who have served the prescribed period (a function currently performed by the Defense Minister).

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] This proposal of yours is particularly important in view of the way that the last draft for active military service was carried out.

[Moiseyev] Yes. Here are the figures that we have. In 1989 6,500 people refused to do military service. In the first 10 days of March this year, 1,188 people deserted from the Armed Forces, of whom 641 were from the Transcaucasus (178 in Georgia, 300 in Azerbaijan, and 163 in Armenia).

I also believe that it is the president's duty to ensure the strict observance of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws on questions of the country's defense and security. I want to make special note of that latter item. It is common knowledge that Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have adopted a number of republic laws which are contrary to Article 73 of the USSR Constitution. Such acts include the resolution on performing military service in the draftee's home region, the decision to end the draft to military construction detachments of the USSR Armed Forces, and the Latvian Supreme Soviet resolution on introducing an alternative form of service and proposals on the question of the creation of national military formations. Similar acts are also envisaged in the concept of the national development of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, published in ZARYA VOSTOKA—the organ of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet, and Council of Ministers. In particular, the concept provides for the continuation of work on the solution of questions on the performance of compulsory military service by draftees, if they wish, in the territory of the republic, the creation of national troop formations, and so forth. The adoption of these laws and legal acts does not take into account the common interests of ensuring the country's defense capability and undermines the combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Why are you focusing attention specifically on this aspect of presidential activity?

[Moiseyev] For three main reasons. The first, and perhaps most important, is that the world is still too highly militarized, armed conflicts are continuing, and on the whole the military danger to us has not been removed. Even though some positive changes have occurred, the military-political situation now taking shape in the world and in Europe is so dynamic that it may take the most unexpected turn. We military men are obliged to anticipate that. After all, it is no secret to anyone that the United States is not renouncing its policy of the first use of nuclear weapons in certain circumstances. Furthermore, it is constantly improving them and continuing testing. It isn't cutting back on other military programs, either, and is imparting a new quality to general-purpose forces and building up its naval and space potentials. The United States and NATO have not abandoned the concept of "nuclear deterrence" or their essentially offensive military doctrines.

Even if agreements on reducing conventional, chemical, and strategic offensive armaments are signed and implemented, the Soviet Union, in America's eyes, will remain the main U.S. adversary for the next decade. That meets its new strategy of rivalry, which is aimed at achieving first and foremost U.S. military superiority over the USSR. That is why questions of security, the reliable defense of the country, and the leadership of the Armed Forces at present remain highly important and sensitive.

The second reason stems logically from the first. In present-day conditions, the increasing dynamism of the processes occurring in the sphere of military policy and defense building dictates the need for the centralization of leadership in this area. Looking at things realistically, everyone is involved in resolving military questions in our country now: the party Central Committee, the Politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the Defense Council, and also the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Military-Industrial Questions and even the USSR Foreign Ministry, and so forth. Not to mention all the many different resolutions, orders, and directives those bodies issue on military questions. That is why rigorous coordination is needed in this sphere.

And the third and final reason. The perestroyka of defense building and the preparation and implementation of military reform make it fundamentally important to concentrate in the president's hands the power to resolve comprehensively economic, sociopolitical, and indeed military tasks arising in this connection. That, on the one hand, will allow the building and training of the Armed Forces to be purposefully carried out, while, on the other hand, allowing the Armed Forces to be employed strictly in accordance with their intended purpose.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How, in your opinion, should the USSR president exercise his leadership of the Armed Forces?

[Moiseyev] In peacetime the president should, in my view, exercise his leadership of the Armed Forces through the Presidential Council. That is the supreme permanent organ of leadership of the country's defense. I think that the country's president should appoint the supreme command of the Armed Forces—the defense minister and his first deputies. Other leading personnel of the Armed Forces should be appointed by the USSR Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the defense minister. I am also convinced that the president should have a military aide with a small, well qualified apparatus capable of promptly preparing conclusions based on assessments of the military-political situation and specific proposals on defense questions so he can make decisions.

When the USSR Presidential Council is transformed during a special period into the State Committee for the Defense of the USSR the country's president should be its chairman. In my view, this important provision should be reflected in the country's fundamental law.

I think that the laws passed at the Congress and the USSR Constitution will be constantly improved. And the introduction of the post of president will thus make it possible to produce a more streamlined system of leadership of defense building and of the Armed Forces which will provide favorable conditions for the implementation of military reform within its framework—qualitative transformations of the defense industry complex, the Armed Forces themselves, and the military-patriotic education of the people based on the principles of new political thinking, defense sufficiency, and readiness to defend our united, multinational, socialist homeland.

Views on Political Organs in the Armed Forces

PM1403102190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Mar 90 Single Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel General N. Kalinin by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Editorial Office; date, place not specified: "Vigorous Thoughts and Actions"]

[Text] At the editorial office's request, Col. Gen. N. Kalinin, commander of the Moscow Military District and a participant in the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum, gives his impressions of the plenum's work.

[Kalinin] To begin with I should like to stress that, despite the different views of various Central Committee members, the spirit in which questions were discussed was constructive. I mention that because for some people it has become almost a fashion to display a certain "independence" in their judgments and vie with one another in the radicalism of their proposals which, using the strictest criteria, are far removed from the realities of our life and do not take into account the situation prevailing in our country.

The vast majority of the speeches at the plenum were well balanced. There were many businesslike proposals. That was true whether the discussion was on Article 6 and Article 7 of the USSR Constitution, the draft CPSU Statute, or other items on the agenda.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Did you intend to speak, Nikolay Vasilyevich?

[Kalinin] Generally speaking I don't make that an imperative aim. Though, of course, like all plenum participants I am ready to take part in the debates and express my view when discussion gets under way.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In his report, M.S. Gorbachev touched on problems of the role of political organs in the Armed Forces. What is your view on that subject?

[Kalinin] The Army has a structure of political organs developed from practical experience and also forms and methods for the leadership of party organizations. Of course, it cannot be said that these meet present-day requirements in full. In my view, one of the crucial functions of Armed Forces' political organs—daily educational work with personnel in the conditions of democratization of the life and activity of military collectives—needs to be considerably enhanced. This may be called the most urgent task of all today. Incidentally, the same ideas are often expressed by communists when discussing the party Central Committee draft platform.

More than once I have been vexed to see how the Army often receives young men with a difficult past and a nihilistic perception of reality, people tainted by nationalist prejudices and embittered by difficulties experienced in their childhood and youth. We need to enhance the role of political organs and renew their structure so that they are constantly and closely concerned with the men's lives and can contribute to their civic and military training. They face great tasks in the professional and moral training of officers and NCO's.

And there are many problems among servicemen's families which our political organs are required to study from day to day. Mutual relations between political organs and primary party organizations must also be formed in a new way.

Some mistakes have been made in the process of restructuring our political organs. And I am sure that the renewed military political organs will take their rightful place in the Armed Forces system.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Nikolay Vasilyevich, one of the questions on the plenum agenda was the election of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress. What is your view on the election of Armed Forces delegates?

[Kalinin] Indeed, the discussion on this question was very vigorous. The most diverse views were expressed. I believe that Army and Navy communists fully deserve a proportional representation of their number at the congress. As they also merit the creation of party okrugs directly in Army and Navy organizations and elections which take account of primary organizations' opinions.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] We are putting this next question to you, Nikolay Vasilyevich, in your capacity as a district commander. There is much varied criticism expressed these days. Have there been any positive changes in servicemen's attitudes, life, and service?

[Kalinin] I am increasingly convinced that a highly positive phenomenon is emerging in our society: The emotions generated by rallies are subsiding. It seems that people understand that perestroyka needs not clamor, but involves practical action, creative thinking, and a search for solutions.

You can see this clearly from examples in our district. We have specific targets and tasks. We know what we want and what we must achieve: high combat readiness in units and subunits, regulation discipline and order, professionalism in the cadres, and social protection for the men. And one more thing—an awareness on every serviceman's part of his patriotic and internationalist duty. That is what we shall all be working on.

Yazov, Leaders Attend Gen Margelov's Funeral

PM0903131590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Last Journey"]

[Text] USSR Armed Forces servicemen and the capital's working people paid their last respects 7 March to Hero of the Soviet Union Army General Vasiliy Filippovich Margelov, an eminent Soviet military leader, active participant in the Great Patriotic War, and USSR State Prize winner.

The Red Banner Hall of the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House, where the coffin bearing the deceased's body was placed, was decked out in black. There were many wreaths around the base.

The honor guard included Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; USSR deputy defense ministers, and military leaders.

A funeral rally was held at the Novodevichiy Cemetery, where V.F. Margelov was buried.

Baltic Republic

Landsbergis Sends Telegram to Congress

LD1903093290 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] The parliament of Lithuania, which on 11 March declared the independence of that Baltic republic from the Soviet Union, today plans to give an official reply to the telegram from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. This has been stated by a parliament spokesman in Vilnius.

The telegram offers to give an answer in three days time about measures taken to comply with the decision of the Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. The document qualified the one-sided proclamation of the independence of Lithuania as going against the provisions of the Constitution, and thus invalid.

Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, Vitautas Landsbergis, told newsmen on Sunday he does not recognize the legality of the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Meanwhile Mikhail Gorbachev spoke out for keeping intact, developing and radically transforming the federation of Soviet republics. He addressed a group of foreign newsmen on Sunday after leaving a polling station in Moscow. He took part in the second round of the elections of people's deputies. He took part in the second round of the elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation. Answering a question about the recent proclamation of Lithuania's independence by its parliament, the Soviet president described it as unlawful and running against the Constitution of the USSR.

Communist Official Calls for Moscow Rule

LD1903141690 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Today, 19 March, the Parliament of Lithuania, that the Sunday before last proclaimed the independence of this Baltic republic from the USSR, plans to give an official answer to a telegram from President Mikhail Gorbachev. The telegram offered within three days to have a report on the measures about carrying out a decision of the Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. This decision qualified a unilateral proclamation of Lithuania's independence as running against some articles in the USSR Constitution and made it null and void. On Sunday the chairman of the Lithuania's Supreme Soviet, Vitautas Landsbergis, told newsmen he rejected the legality of these demands.

Tension persisted in Lithuania over the weekend. A multi- thousand strong rally was held on Saturday in the republic's capital, Vilnius, in support of the independence of the Lithuanian state. Another rally on Sunday was attended by those who disagree with the decision of the Lithuanian Parliament. More than 100,000 people responded to a call by the city committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party that upholds the platform of the entire Soviet Communist Party as well as of the Council of War and Labor Veterans and Army Servicemen of the Vilnius garrison. Here are brief interviews with participants in the Sunday rally. One speaker at it was a Central Committee member of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the platform of the whole of the Soviet Communist Party, Kucherev. What did he call the rally to do?

[Begin Kucherev recording in vernacular fading into English translation] I called the rally first of all to support the restoration of the Constitution, that is, accepting the decision of the Third Congress of People's Deputies on Lithuania. If developments run contrary to this decision, I called the people for civil disobedience. I also urged the employees of the state apparatus not to carry out these separatist decisions or, in other words, to boycott them. Of course, a conflict situation may shape, but so far we've managed to keep the situation under control. I think that we'll be able to restore Soviet Government along a peaceful and democratic path. [end recording]

[Announcer] Now the views of the first secretary of the Vilnius City Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the platform of the entire Soviet Communist Party, Lazutka.

[Begin Lazutka recording in vernacular fading into English translation] We regard what has happened in our republic as a coup that scrapped the Lithuanian Constitution. We view everything that's happening in our republic now in keeping with this stand.

On Sunday President Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed to a foreign newsman his attitude to the events in Lithuania. We believe, he said, that the Lithuanian members of parliament passed an illegal decision. It surprised many people in this country, including in Lithuania. Nevertheless we'll be holding talks. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the meantime, the new Lithuanian authorities have disclosed that Soviet troops have held exercises, not announced beforehand, in a number of areas of the republic. It's been also reported that combat aircraft were flying over Lithuanian cities and towns. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, Vitautas Landsbergis, has held a meeting with high-ranking military officers, including the region's commander, General Kuzmin. Meanwhile, Mrs. Kazimiera Prunskiene, just appointed the prime minister of Lithuania, has said that the exercises are no cause for concern.

Council Appeal on Status of USSR Troops

LD1903144290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1015 GMT 19 Mar 90

["Appeal" to Lithuanian people with regard to the status of the Soviet Army in Lithuania, read by Ceslovas Stankevicius, chairman of the 19 March Lithuania Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live relay]

[Text] On 15 June 1940, the Soviet Armed Forces advanced into Lithuania as a tool of USSR aggression and as a force to occupy Lithuania. Until today the territory of the republic of Lithuania, its waters and airspace, have been used by units of Soviet troops. This is done without relevant agreement by the government of the Republic of Lithuania.

The will of the citizens, which was expressed by more than 1.5 million signatures, demanded that these Armed Forces be withdrawn.

Today these armed forces, which include KGB troops and border guards, are the armed forces of an alien state with no definite legal status, which are subordinated only to their own military leadership and the political leadership of their state, and not to the government of a republic on whose territory these armed forces are deployed. Such a presence of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of Lithuania is harmful in several ways: ecologically, psychologically, and politically. This is a problem of governments, which we hope will soon be resolved.

Meanwhile, the servicemen themselves and their families have nothing to do with this. Therefore, they should not be insulted, cavilled, or treated badly in any way. We must be friendly and polite to them so that we part with them as good friends.

Gorbachev Discusses Lithuanian Situation

LD1803155190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1449 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Moscw, 18 March (TASS)—TASS correspondent Viktor Bezbrzhnyy reports: Three days was long enough. So thought journalists who turned up today at the Moscow polling station where Mikhail Gorbachev was due to vote in a second-round election. Indeed, it was only on 15 March that the Soviet leader had met representatives of the mass media at the Kremlin. At the press conference that was held immediately after his election as USSR president, answers were, one would imagine, given to all the burning questions. But that was on the 15th! And so both Soviet and foreign correspondents accredited in the Soviet capital did not miss the occasion of today's presidential "walk-about." A group of them had been waiting for Gorbachev since early morning.

After voting, he agreed to chat to them, but the meeting, held in the open air in a picturesque park bathed in bright spring sunshine, was a short one. Just one question, asked by one of the foreign correspondents and concerning Lithuania, was answered.

Question: If your ultimatum is not accepted in Lithuania, what will be your next step?

Reply: "First and foremost: There was no ultimatum. What there was was a decicion taken by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies acting within the Constitution. For just as any republic's entry to the USSR does not depend alone on the will of the one wishing to join but is discussed by the Union as a whole, [This and following additions are included in Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 18 March in a similar report: "—and if you recall, that is the way it was—"] so too secession from the USSR is a matter not for one republic alone. For it concerns the common interests of the whole country, of all the republics and peoples.

"Self-determination is affirmed by the Constitution, and we have once more confirmed this while studying and introducing the institution of the presidency, taking account of the republics' interests, broadening their rights, and affirming their sovereingty. [Moscow Domestic Service adds: "should come under the task of the president."]

Therefore we are facing serious and profound transformations of the federation. But we advocate a full-blooded federation. Whereas to set out on the path of destruction of vital links which have formed over several decades and in which economics, politics, culture and technology are intertwined, and human links have become especially deep, well, to destroy them is an unpromising path. Therefore we stand resolutely for the development of the Federation and stand for its preservation. And we will carry out this task.

"We consider—and the whole congress expressed itself in exactly this manner—that the Lithuanian parliamentarians have adopted an illegal decision. In my opinion, it surprised many of us, including those in Lithuania, as well. Something was decided overnight, in the heat of the moment. Nonetheless, we will conduct talks [besedy]. It was to this purpose that the decision was made to deem what has happened illegal and contradictory to the Constitution. This is the first thing. Besides this, the president was charged with ensuring the people's interests and the USSR's security interests [Moscow Domestic Service adds: "as a whole and the interests of the USSR in maintaining order."] We will act, taking into account all of this, but within the framework of the Constitution and the law—and with great respect for the Lithuanian people. That is, we will do everything as it should be done in a large state, taking into account the interests of the Union and all peoples, including the Lithuanian people.

"I think that we will receive a response from the present Lithuanian authorities, and further developments will become clear depending on this. The nature and content of the response will determine our subsequent steps. We will act responsibly in order, with regard to strengthening their independence and sovereignty, but simultaneously within the framework of cooperation with all the republics."

The conversation ends. Gorbachev wishes the journalists all the best and leaves the confines of the polling station for the street. Muscovites come up to him and congratulate him on his election as USSR president, wishing him success in this high position.

Landsbergis on Military Activity in Lithuania

LD1903152490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Vitautas Landsbergis held a brief press conference to a narrow circle of foreign and Lithuanian journalists. Evaluating the political situation in Lithuania today, the chairman of the Supreme Council said:

[Begin recording] We not only see but also hear the situation in Lithuania. Planes flew just now above the building of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania. These planes are flying today continuously. The flight started yesterday with helicopters which were dispersing inciting leaflets in Russian, which incorrectly describe what we have decided in the Supreme Council of Lithuania. These leaflets explained to people, who maybe do not have any other information, that we have restored the Constitution of 1938 and are once again creating a bourgeois state. To people with narrow-minded political views these words may be terrible, an encroachment on something which has been sacred to them—socialism and [word indistinct], Colonel General Ochalov explained to me today [passage indistinct]. But nobody explained the meaning of the emergence of servicemen in the eastern part of Lithuania, their walk in the fields, and the marking with certain signs where, as they explain to the population, a Lithuanian border will be established, different from the present one, leaving large areas and inhabitants in Belorussia.

We have heard threats made in Moscow to the effect that if Lithuania becomes independent, becomes an independent state, some territory will be taken away from it. [passage indistinct]. Nothing can compromise the Soviet Union more than an attempt to change the state borders, thereby violating the principles of the Helsinki final act. [passage indistinct] I would not like to believe that these events which I have mentioned, are being carried out on behalf of the Soviet Government, and with the knowledge and approval of Mikhail Gorbachev. The world public opinion is very favorable to the path chosen by Lithuania; this is expressed not only by the press, experts, and political analysts, but also in official statements by state officials. All statements are of an approving nature, although some are somewhat more cautious. [end recording]

Moscow Radio Reports 18 Mar Lithuanian Situation

LD1803145890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] We begin the bulletin with a report from Lithuania. Here's our Lithuania correspondent Yelena Kurklietyte in Vilnius:

[Begin recording] It's an unusually warm day in Lithuania today, with the thermometer showing over 20 degrees in the sun. Once the political passions subside, people will get down to their spring work. So far, however, the political passions are still at boiling point. In Vilnius yesterday thousands took part in a rally organized by Sajudis in support of the Supreme Soviet's decision on the restoration of the independent Lithuanian state. And today there was a really of people who disagree with those decisions. It was organized by Yedinstvo [Unity], the CPSU, and the Komsoomol in Lithuania. Yesterday leaflets were scattered from helicopters demanding that a referendum be proclaimed.

The first session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic has begun forming the republic's government. Kazimiera Prunskiene has been appointed chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Republic, with Algirdas Brazauskas and Romualdas Ozolas as deputy premiers. New standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet have been formed. The deputies have also adopted an appeal to the governments of all democratic states, expressing hope for their support and recognition. An appeal has also been adopted to all citizens of Lithuania, calling for calm, restraint, and unity from people of all nationalities living in the republic.

Representatives of Lithuania empowered by the Supreme Soviet are setting off for Moscow today with a reply letter to the telegram from USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev offering three days to report on measures to implement the decision of the extraordinary Third USSR Congress of People's Deputies in connection with the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic of 10-12 March 1990. The content of the reply letter was discussed at the session of the Supreme Soviet and its main points are as follows: The Lithuanian people have the right to self-determination and the decisions of the republic's Supreme Soviet are lawful. The letter also states that the legitimate rights of every person living in Lithuania will be protected.

The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic continues tomorrow. [end recording]

Officer in Lithuania Opens Fire on Militia

LD1903134290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 18 Mar 90

["Militia arrests deserting Soviet Army officer"—Vilnius headline]

[Text] On 17 March, at about 2000 hours, Major Oleg Aleksandrovich Frolov, an officer of a military unit in Siauliai, being intoxicated and armed with a machine gun and a pistol with cartridges, took absence without leave from his unit. He stopped cars in Siauliai, threatening them with his weapons.

Servicemen, attempting to disarm him, talked to him, but he threatened to shoot. Frolov, using his weapons, stopped a car and ordered the driver to take him in the direction of Vilnius. Militia workers, having been informed about this followed the car carrying the armed serviceman and, giving light and sound signals, ordered it to stop. The car stopped, a serviceman emerged and opened fire on the militia workers, who demanded that Frolov surrender. When he did not obey, after warning shots, they opened fire and seriously wounded him.

An operative group of the Procuracy and the Ministry of Internal Affairs is investigating the case. The leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs appeals to people of the republic of Lithuania to be calm and orderly.

Army 'Marking Out' Lithuania's 1939 Border

LD1803092790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] According to news coming in from Lithuania, in the region of Ignalina groups of Soviet Army soldiers are marking out the border line of Lithuania as of 1939. This means that Soleczniki [Lithuanian: Salcininkeliai], Druskienniki [Druskininkai], and Swieciany [Svencionys] are being included in Belorussia.

Situation in Vilnius Tense; Awaits Council Decision

PM1803192390 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Mar 90 p 1

[Report by correspondent G. Konchyus under the rubric: "We Report the Details": "Yesterday in Vilnius"]

[Text] Vilnius—Outwardly everything in Vilnius seems the same as ever. There are as usual many people on the streets and many shoppers in the stores, but no more than usual. What is unusual is that at the gas pumps the most prudent motorists are filling up not only their tanks but canisters too. But the warning that was sounded at the Supreme Soviet session that Vilnius bakers might go on strike was immediately refuted by a telegram from Fedorov, general director of the Vilnius Bakery Industry Production Association.

But it is not difficult to sense an inner tension behind the external calm. Newspapers, which published the telegram sent by USSR President Gorbachev to V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and the resolution of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies regarding the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet decisions of 10-12 March 1990, disappeared from the kiosks in the early morning even more quickly than on other days. In its resolution the Congress, as people will know, declared that as of now, until the establishment by law of a procedure for and the establishment of the consequences of secession from the Soviet Union, the unilateral decisions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet contradict Articles 74 and 75 of the USSR Constitution and are invalid. This morning, after a one-day recess, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session resumed its work. In addressing it, V. Landsbergis gave assurances that a response to M.S. Gorbachev's telegram would be forthcoming within the required three-day period after the discussion of the question at the Supreme Soviet session. The session agenda included the appointment of the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. K. Prunskiene was appointed chairman. A. Brazauskas and R. Ozolas were confirmed as deputy chairmen. Session participants adopted an appeal "To the Governments of Democratic States of the World." At the same time a rally calling on the initiative of Sajudis in support of its position on the question of Lithuania's independence was being held outside the Supreme Soviet Presidium building.

And from early in the morning a helicopter circled over Vilnius, dropping leaflets. The leaflet signatories—the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU platform) City Party Committee, the city Lenin Communist Youth League, Yedinstvo [Unity], the Socialist Working People's Federation, the Council of War and Labor Veterans, and garrison servicemen—are inviting people to take part in a rally on Sunday under the slogan "Lithuania's fate can only be decided by referendum!" At the same time the republic Supreme Soviet is appealing to the inhabitants of Vilnius and visitors not to take part in the rally and to show restraint and keep the peace.

Party Supporters Hold Rally in Vilnius

LD1803200890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 90

[From the "Seven Days" program]

[Text] [Presenter] There is universal interest at the moment in the Lithuania's situation. You will recall that yesterday there was a rally of many thousands of people in Vilnius backing independence for the state of Lithuania. At the rally today it was the turn of those who disagree with this decision by the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania. We have just received a report from our special correspondent:

[Video report by D. Kiselev] [video shows crowds gathered, bearing banners which are mainly either red or white] The focus of the event was near the Sports Palace. Over 100,000 people have responded to the appeal by the City Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania on the CPSU Platform, the Unity movement, the Council of War and Labor Veterans, and also servicemen of the Vilnius garrison. [video cuts to interview with man captioned as I.D. Kucherov, member of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee on the CPSU Platform, against background of rally speakers and cheering crowd]

[Begin video interviews] [Kiselev] What was the essence of your appeal to the people who were listening to you?

[Kucherov] The main thing I was appealing for was...[changes thought] bearing in mind...[changes thought] backing for the restoration of the validity of the Constitution—in other words, the decision on Lithuania. And if, despite everything, these decisions by Lithuania are going to go through, then I called for civil disobedience; and moreover I called on officials in the state apparatus not to implement these separatist decisions—to boycott them, in other words. It is possible, of course, that a situation of conflict of some kind or other could arise, but so far we have managed to keep the situation in Lithuania all the time under control. I believe that we shall still be able to find once again, so to speak, a peaceful way, a democratic way, to restore Soviet power.

[Kiselev] And that is what you are for?

[Kucherov] I'm for that. [video cuts to interview with man captioned as V. Lazutka, first secretary of the Vilnius City Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania on the CPSU Platform]

[Lazutka] We support the decision of the extraordinary Third Congress, but we should like to have, to know what are the concrete plans for ensuring our interests, our interests and the interests of Soviet people that flow from the content and essence of the USSR Constitution and the Lithuanian Socialist Soviet Republic Constitution. We regard what has happened here as a coup d'etat that has done away with the Lithuanian Socialist Soviet Republic Constitution. That is how we approach, how we view what is happening here at the present time.

The residents of Vilnius, and not only of Vilnius, are of a mind for resolute action in defense of Soviet power.

[Kiselev] When you say the residents of Vilnius, I imagine that you mean some of the residents of Vilnius. Would that be more precise?

[Lazutka] It goes without saying that for a public figure to claim to speak for the people when he knows that there are social contradictions in our society, of course that would be stupid. Of course I'm not talking about the whole of Vilnius, but about certain clearly-defined social groups, whom I would define as the working people. [end video interviews]

[Kiselev] In a message to the republic's residents of the republic USSR president, which was adopted at the rally, the recent decision by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is described as an anticonstitutional coup. It notes that as a result of antidemocratic elections, the republic's parliament does not have any deputies defending the interests of those who wish to live in Lithuania under the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

The rally decided to set up a committee of USSR citizens in Lithuania and workers' militia squads [rabochiye druzhiny] to protect law and order and socialist property.

Vilnius Radio Carries 17 Mar Supreme Council

Agenda Debated

LD1703131896

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0900 GMT on 17 March begins live coverage of the fifth day of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At 0901 GMT Supreme Council Chairman Landsbergis starts the session with his review of the political situation in Lithuania.

At 0925 GMT Landsbergis is asked why Army officers are standing as deputies for local elections. Landsbergis answers that lawyers should cope with this problem.

At 0927 GMT deputies register. There are 124 present.

At 0928 GMT Deputy Brazauskas is asked to make a statement on the state of affairs in Moscow. He says he spoke with Gorbachev at Gorbachev's request during a break on the second day of the Congress of People's Deputies. Brazauskas says he made the point that the Lithuanian decision on independence is the will of the people and not the opinion of a small group of people. He says Gorbachev said Lithuania must hold a referendum on the matter. Brazauskas says Gorbachev raised the "Finnish variant" as a process toward independence.

At 0940 GMT Deputy Vytenis Andriukaitis asked Brazauskas whether he can imagine himself in the post of prime minister. Brazauskas says that, if appointed, he would agree to be prime minister.

At 0943 GMT Deputy Vaidotas Antanaitis states he had a conversation in Moscow with Yakovlev who said that Medvedev will be responsible for all talks or negotiations concerning Lithuania. He states that Lithuanuia was the first to congratulate Gorbachev on his appointment to the post of USSR president.

At 0948 GMT Deputy Nikolajus Medvedevas makes a statement on his stay in Moscow, stressing that there are deputies in Moscow supporting Lithuania's independence.

At 0952 GMT problems to be debated at the session are listed. Deputy Vainoris proposes that all draft laws should be submitted to the session by their authors. Other proposals on procedures and items to be debated are made.

At 1005 GMT problems to be debated at the session are listed. Deputy Vainoris proposes that all draft laws should be submitted to the session by their authors. Other proposals on procedures and items to be debated are made.

At 1010 GMT proposals are made that the Constitution should be amended before the formation of the government.

At 1012 GMT it is proposed that before the midday interval the following items of the agenda should be debated: information about the authorizing persons in future negotiations in Moscow, amendments to the Constitution, and the election of the prime minister.

At 1015 GMT information on the appointment of persons authorized to conduct negotiations in Moscow is provided.

At 1025 GMT a protocol decision is made approving the names of the candidates.

At 1032 GMT the session is adjourned until 1100 GMT.

Prunskiene Elected Prime Minister

LD1703134290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuania at 1100 GMT on 17 March resumes its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius with Deputy Ceslovas Stankevicius in the chair. Deputy Lapinskas is asked about amendments to the Constitution concerning the formation of the government. According to the proposal, a deputy appointed to a government post would have the right to address the Council, take part in its session, but would have no right to vote. He would also be released from all other duties as a deputy and take part in the Council commissions. The relations of such deputies with electors is debated.

At 1116 GMT the debates continue. An amendment is submitted that a deputy occupying a government post loses his deputy's mandate and by-elections have to take place in his constituency.

At 1128 GMT reception deteriorates. Amendments to the Constitution are put to a vote and the chairman is heard to say that the amendments are adopted.

At 1142 GMT Landsbergis takes the floor and reception becomes completely worthless.

At 1208 GMT Deputy Kazimiera Prunskiene takes the floor to briefly describe the economic negotiations in Moscow, stressing that the coming negotiations will be different because they will be between two equal sides. Reception becomes completely worthless.

At 1225 GMT Deputy Prunskiene proposes that there should be three deputy prime ministers. She proposed Algirdas Brazauskas and Romualdas Ozolas as deputy prime ministers with the third deputy to be proposed later.

At 1232 GMT it is proposed to not take a break, but continue the session. A vote is taken and it is decided to continue the session.

At 1237 GMT Deputy Sadreika asks Prunskiene whether she would replace all the present members of the Council of Ministers. Other questions concerning the economy and social problems are asked. In replying to the questions Prunskiene states that she is no longer a member of the Lithuanian Communist Party. An unidentified deputy says Landsbergis would not want communists in the government, but she has proposed two deputy prime ministers who are communists. Prunskiene replies that it is their business to which party they belong.

AT 1306 GMT the candidature of Kazimiera Prunskiene to the post of prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania is put to a vote. There are 126 deputies present in the hall. 107 deputies vote in favor, six against, and 13 deputies abstain. Kazimiera Prunskiene is the new prime minister of Lithuania.

Deputy Prime Minister Elected

LD1703170290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1312 GMT on 17 March continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

Prunskiene proposes Algirdas Brazauskas to the post of deputy prime minister. She proposes that three deputy prime ministers should be appointed.

At 1313 GMT the issue of three deputy prime ministers is put to a vote. The appointment of three deputy prime ministers is confirmed with 116 votes in favor. Prunskiene proposes to temporarily appoint only two deputies.

At 1316 GMT Deputy Algirdas Brazauskas takes the floor. He states that understanding the present situation in Lithuania, he agrees to be a candidate for deputy prime minister. 122 deputies vote for Brazauskas, three against.

At 1321 GMT Prunskiene proposes Romualdas Ozolas to the post of deputy prime minister. Deputy Romualdas Ozolas agrees to be a condidate. 112 deputies vote for Ozolas, three against, five abstain.

At 1328 GMT Landsbergis reads an appeal to the governments of the world to recognize Lithuania. The appeal is adopted by a majority of votes. Landsbergis states that this appeal should also be sent to the Soviet Union.

At 1334 GMT Landsbergis states that he wants to make a statement on the political situation and asks that television and radio connections be switched off. This request is approved by the deputies.

At 1340 GMT Landsbergis is heard to speak again but he immediately asks to switch off radio and television transmissions and an interval is announced until 1415 GMT.

At 1515 GMT the session resumes its work. Deputy Chairman Ceslovas Stankevicius reads congratulations from various Lithuanian student organizations and from a family in Klaipeda that donated 1,000 rubles to repurchase Lithuania from the Soviet Union. Stankevicius reads the number of a bank account where donations to independent Lithuania can be sent.

At 1525 GMT Deputy Oleka reads an appeal to young people serving the Soviet Army. Amendments to the text are proposed.

At 1537 GMT the amended appeal is read. It is adopted with 114 votes.

At 1540 GMT Deputy Antanas Buracas reports on the mandates of some people's deputies in Moscow. He states that deputies from Lithuania should be in Moscow to counteract unfriendly propaganda against Lithuania and to state Lithuania's case.

At 1552 GMT Minister of Internal Affairs Misiukonis makes a statement on the situation in Snieckus and in the Ignalina rayon.

At 1556 GMT debates begin on chairmen of the council commissions. Various procedural questions are raised. Deputy Jursenas proposes that representatives of the council minority should be included in commissions. This minority consists of one quarter of the deputies. Proposals are made to continue these debates in groups. Debates continue on whether one deputy can work in two or more commissions.

At 1642 GMT Landsbergis reads greetings to the council.

At 1646 GMT the session is adjourned until 1715 GMT.

Commission Chairmen Elected

LD1703192390

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1715 GMT on 17 March resumes its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius. Reception is poor to unmonitorable. The resumed session begins with the adoption of a resolution changing the status of the former USSR people's deputies from Lithuania, who are now authorized representatives of the Republic of Lithuania in the USSR Parliament.

At 1728 GMT an appeal to the Lithuanian people is read. The appeal is not adopted and a commission is formed to prepare a new text of the appeal.

At 1737 GMT it is proposed to continue the formation of the Supreme Council's commissions and appointment of their chairmen. Algirdas Saudargas is confirmed as chairman of the Commission for the Restoration of the Lithuanian State. Deputy Jonas Prapiestis is appointed chairman of the Commission for the Legal System.

At 1745 GMT a proposal is made that a temporary commission should be set up on the return to Lithuania of Lithuanian citizens serving in the Soviet Army. This issue is debated but no decision taken. Deputy Zigmas Vaisvila is elected chairman of the Commission for the Protection of the State and for Internal Affairs. Emanuelis Zingeris is elected chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission.

At 1800 GMT voting on the appointment of the commission chairmen continues. The appointment of the chairman of the Nature Protection Commission is debated because Deputy Jonas Tamulis is not present. Deputy Zigmantas Astrauskas is elected chairman of that commission. Deputy Kazimieras Antanavicius is elected chairman of the Economy Commission. Deputy Audrius Rudys is elected chairman of the Budget Commission. Deputy Grakauskas is elected chairman of the Agrarian Commission. Deputy Medardas Cabotas is elected chairman of the Health Service and Social Insurance Commission. Deputy Virgilijus Cepaitis is elected chairman of the Citizens' Rights and the Affairs of the Nationalities Commission. Deputy (Nijole Ambrazaityte) is elected chairwoman of the Local Government Commission. Deputy Mecys Laurinkus is elected chairman of the Provisional Commission for the Return of Lithuanian Citizens from the Soviet Army.

At 1850 GMT the session is adjourned for 10 minutes.

Reply to Gorbachev Debated

LD1703204790

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1903 GMT on 17 March continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius when Deputy Chairman Ceslovas Stankevicius asks the deputies to register.

AT 1907 GMT an appeal to the people of Lithuania was read. It was adopted by a majority of votes.

At 1911 GMT debates on procedural matters begin.

At 1914 GMT an appeal by the former minister of foreign affairs in independent Lithuania, Juozas Urbsys, to Landsbergis and Brazauskas is read. It calls on them to be united.

At 1917 GMT greetings from the Lithuanian Association of National Communities are read. It is signed by representatives of all national communities.

At 1922 GMT greetings from various organizations are read. A deputy states that there is sufficient flour in the republic and the inhabitants are urged not to buy excessive quantities of it.

At 1924 GMT Deputy Laurinkus presents the composition of his commission on the return of Lithuanian citizens from the Soviet Army.

At 1928 GMT Landsbergis reads the draft of a reply message to President Gorbachev. Various amendments are proposed. The draft is read by Landsbergis and adopted by a majority of votes. Landsbergis stresses that Gorbachev's message was not an ultimatum, he only wanted a reply by a certain date.

At 1949 GMT debates on this issue continue. Some deputies insist that the reply should contain the statement that all problems should be solved by dialogue and negotiations.

At 1955 GMT additional amendments to the draft are adopted. The final text is not read or adopted. The Presidium of the Supreme Council is to discuss the reply and transmit it.

At 1956 GMT Klimaitis makes a statement about a draft resolution which is to be adopted by the European Parliament on Lithuania in the nearest future.

At 2004 GMT the chairman announces that the council commissions are to meet on Monday, 19 March, at 0900 GMT and the next plenary meeting is to take place next Tuesday, 20 March.

At 2006 GMT various minor questions are discussed, including the possibility of a trip to Latvia.

At 2008 GMT Vilnius Radio ends its live relay of the Supreme Council session.

Landsbergis Addresses Lithuanian Supreme Council

ld1703151290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0901 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Opening report on the Lithuanian political situation by Lithuanian Supreme Council President Vytautas Landsbergis to the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] During the period in which we did not have any plenary sessions here, various events took place. One rather difficult moment has already passed and this was the discussion of Lithuania as if she were a criminal at the Third Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow. People there were angry, and this did not help them to understand the situation. Some, nevertheless, discussed the situation. They understood and gave it their support. [passage omitted]

What is the current situation in Lithuania and what are our main problems? The main problem, of course, is that it will remain so for some time to come, this problem of maintaining political stability.

The situation is quiet and stable in the republic. All offices are functioning and all people are going about their business. Support given to our important decisions here in Lithuania and abroad is great and it is always felt. This helps to maintain a stable situation in the republic. However, we must be careful and watch that no violation of this stability occurs.

Signs of international recognition reinforce the stability in Lithuania. I would like to announce some of them here.

Yesterday a text of a communique adopted by the Sejm of the Republic of Poland was sent here by phone. [passage omitted]

What can threaten stablity today? First of all, of course, is a lack of civic consciousness. This can be violated by certain rumors being spread, by certain instigations, the lack of which is not felt on the screens of central television. It can also be actions taken by some organizations and enterprises. As an example, I would like to acquaint you with an official statement that shows what activities are carried out by some enterprises. [passage omitted]

Strange statements can be heard on central television, statements which insult not only Lithuania, but also the part of the republic's population that speaks a language other than Lithuanian. Shved, an activist of the CPSU in Lithuania, called these people demoralized. I think we should protest such statements.

The relay of the work of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies did not contribute to the consolidation and stabilization of the situation either. The evening and night broadcasts included many untrue statements about Lithuania, and nobody responded to these, or nobody was allowed to.

These outside pressures when territorial claims are made on the Republic of Lithuania in one way or another can also contribute to destabilization of the situation. These are very strange matters because it would be inconceivable that the USSR, which has signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and which has confirmed the principle of the inviolability of borders, would be the first among the countries that signed it to violate it.

However, these claims, although made by a Belorussian deputy or in some other way, could be regarded as a means of inciting people. I think we will look for ways and will have to find them—perhaps, when at least the core of the government has been formed—concerning our official reaction to these instances.

Debating the results and the so-called issue of the legality of the results of the elections is yet another motive heard constantly in statements more or less directed against the decisions and acts made by the Republic of Lithuania. Here in various ways the word referendum is being mentioned as if what has been so clearly demonstrated by the electors is not enough: first, supporting the Sajudis election platform where the implementation of independence has been clearly stated, as well as the platform of the Lithuanian Communist Party where the aspiration for independence was also declared. [passage omitted] We have other concerns besides holding a referendum. And then if we get involved in a discussion, we would make the political mistake of admitting that the will of the people has not yet been expressed. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, we can see the beginning of recognition or even the start of negotiations, and I mean the telegram from M. Gorbachev, president of the USSR. Although addressed to me, it is an address to the Supreme Council. This telegram has already been made public. I received it in various forms. First of all, this address was made at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow and confirmed by a vote. Then, the text was changed slightly. But perhaps this is more a matter of interest than essence.

Of course, we could talk about the address. It seems that they continue to use the wording Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic out of habit. [passage omitted]

I have already prepared a draft response. However, I think we have time, not only all of today, but also until Monday when the USSR Supreme Soviet session starts or continues, by which time the president wishes to receive our response. No doubt this wish will be fulfilled. If you have no objections I would like to postpone sharing opinions on this issue for a later time.

The telegram is not all that bad. It is a continuation of the speech made by President Mikhail Gorbachev at the Third Congress of People's Deputies, where if you remember, at the end of his speech dialogue was mentioned. Also mentioned was that Lithuania should be seen in the international context. We also look at ourselves that way. Respect for the Lithuanian nation is mentioned and so on.

Concern voiced by military leaders is yet another specific problem we encounter today and that arose when decisions concerning military service and military commissariats were adopted by the Supreme Council. High-ranking military officers from Vilnius or Riga are arriving here every day, or we have phone calls from Kaliningrad, or messages from other regions. I have these here. What the military leadership is worried about is, of course, young soldiers deserting their military service where they have until now been serving. Their clearly expressed request is that we should in some way address these young servicemen, because their spontaneous desertion of the Army will put them in some danger and force the military leadership to persecute the deserters. [passage omitted]

Yet another issue about which I am concerned is how the Soviet soldiers should be treated in this republic. Here I would like to make an appeal not only to you who are here in this house, but also to all those who are listening to me at this moment. There should not be any insults or carping. In any case, this should not exist among people, and the more so now. After Lithuania restored her independence these soldiers found themselves against their own will or choice in a different legal and political situation than they had imagined.

To ask them what they were doing here in Lithuania would be unwise, unfriendly, and politically irresponsible. I invite you to treat them in a friendly manner because we know negotiations will take place and the issue of the status of Soviet military forces in Lithuania will be discussed. [passage omitted]

I would like to propose to the deputies to meet the staff of the garrison, to meet soldiers, just like you met your electors in your constituencies yesterday. [passage omitted] We will make efforts so that even the president of the USSR can be sure that order is and will be maintained in Lithuania.

Prunskiene Named Lithuanian Head of Government

LD1703185390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Vilnius, 17 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila reports:

Kazimiera Prunskiene was confirmed as the chairperson of the Council of Ministers at the session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, which resumed today after a two-day break. [passage omitted]

Today's session started work after hearing the report by Vitautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, on the political situation in the republic. Appraising the situation, the speaker said that "in Lithuania it is calm and stable and all the labor collectives are working." [passage omitted]

Today the Supreme Soviet approved the decision of the Presidium of the republic's legislative body "on the appointment of authorized representatives of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic" who are charged with "deciding all the issues related to the organization of interstate negotiations between Lithuania and the USSR."

The republic's Supreme Soviet has adopted an appeal "to the governments of the democratic states of the world."

The session is continuing its work.

Supreme Council Discusses Reply to Gorbachev

LD1703215490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1928 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Draft reply to message from USSR President Gorbachev read by Lithuanian President Vitautas Landsbergis, with interjection by Deputy Medvedevas and Session Chairman Stankevicius, from the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] [Landsbergis] The response [to President Gorbachev's message] must be ready by Monday morning as President Gorbachev requested that the persons authorized by us should leave for Moscow on Sunday night. They could take it to Moscow and hand it in directly.

Of course, we could send it by telegraph, but it seems that communication links with Moscow have been rather unreliable twice today already. So, in order not to be guilty without guilt for failing to get through to Moscow by telegraph for three days it would be a rather good idea to have this document ready by tomorrow, and to hand it to esteemed Vaidotas Antanaitis, and so on.

I have produced a sketch, a rough copy, and the main draft which I have already mentioned to you. I can remind you of them again because we have had a rather difficult and long day. And the day is ending the way it started. We began it with a discussion of the telegram by Gorbachev and our response to it.

I would like to remind you that the greatest part of this telegram consists of the decision of the Third Congress of People's Deputies with an introduction written by him personally. [passage omitted]

Therefore, I would like to give a response: Findings of the congress that the decisions adopted by the session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania are invalid and have no legal grounds. [preceding sentence spoken in Russian] [passage omitted]

I also wrote the following draft and I would like you to approve of these ideas—perhaps something should be edited here. Therefore, paragraph two of the response would be the following: Human rights in Lithuania are guaranteed by the laws of the Republic of Lithuania and are protected by the government of the state. The lawful interests of the USSR must be specified which then will be unconditionally observed by the Republic of Lithuania. [preceding two sentences spoken in Russian].

There cannot be interests in general, these have to be specified and this is [word indistinct] and those which are legal will, of course be (?honored). [passage omitted]

The response to point three would be the following: The state of Lithuania is taking steps to insure that law and order on the territory of the Republic of the Lithuania is not violated. [preceding sentence spoken in Russian] [passage omitted]

Then I would like to ask your advice on the final paragraph. However, the main content [of the response] is the above mentioned. [passage omitted]

[Deputy Medvedevas] I do not want to contradict you, but I would like to suggest that the paragraph which deals with human rights should state that our laws correspond the UN Declaration of Human Rights. [passage omitted]

[Chairman Stankevicius] Esteemed deputies, I think we should not attempt to edit this letter until its final version. It seems that this letter will be on behalf of the chairman of the Supreme Council.

[Landsbergis] You see, I have to sign it of course. However, this letter is probably also on behalf of the Supreme Council. [unidentified speaker interjects to say that tomorrow they would not be in session to help him] That is why I want to have your approval [passage omitted]

Landsbergis Calls Gorbachev Note 'Request'

WA1703143090 Paris AFP in English 1314 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 17 (AFP)—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis said Saturday he was in no rush to respond to a telegram from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev giving the wayward Baltic republic three days to conform.

Mr. Landsbergis told journalists in Vilnius that Mr. Gorbachev's message on the republic's week-old proclamation of independence was not an "ultimatum" but rather a "request."

He said he "would probably not yet respond" to the telegram, which required an answer by Monday.

He was speaking to the journalists just before the Lithuanian parliament opened a session Saturday, according to a reporter contacted by telephone.

Mr. Gorbachev's telegram was sent Friday over the parliament's unilateral declaration of independence last Sunday.

It gave Mr. Landsbergis three days to conform to a resolution adopted Thursday by the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies declaring the independence proclamation illegal and stating it did not have "the force of law."

A spokesman for the Lithuanian parliament said two camps emerged after Mr. Landsbergis "mentioned" the issue in his opening speech.

One side, led by Mr. Landsbergis himself, felt a response should wait until Monday, when the deadline expires. The other side felt an immediate response should be made, and said Lithuania could count on "support in Moscow from the deputies in the Inter-Regional Group," the reform wing in congress.

Mr. Gorbachev did not indicate what he would do if not given a satisfactory response, despite a directive by the congress urging him to take the necessary measures to have the Soviet Constitution respected in Lithuania.

But Mr. Landsbergis told the deputies Saturday he felt the "biggest danger at the moment was the risk of internal division within the republic," according to the first Lithuanian source.

The local parliament is dominated by members of the Sajudis,the Lithuanian nationalist movement also headed by Mr. Landsbergis, following recent elections.

Sajudis has said it fears "provocation" at a demonstration scheduled for Sunday by Edinstvo (Unity), the defense organization for Lithuania's Russian minority which opposes the declaration of independence. Non-Lithuanians make up some 20 percent of the 3.6 million population.

Sajudis officials said "the Army and Soviet soldiers will undoubtedly join demonstrators" in the Sunday rally.

The commander-in-chief of the Soviet Baltic fleet, Admiral Vitaly Ivanov, condemned the Lithuanian independence proclamation at the congress session in Moscow Thursday, and warned that the "Soviet Army and Naval Forces would always be ready to ensure the country's defense".

In other developments, the Soviet news agency TASS Saturday reported that Lithuania had announced plans to open about 40 border checkpoints.

A Sajudis spokesman said other important issues, including legislation concerning the military and agriculture sector, would be debated at the Saturday parliamentary session.

The local parliament also plans to name a government for Lithuania. A prime minister, Kasimira Prundskiene, was named last week.

At the appeal of Sajudis, a demonstration was to be held Saturday in front of the parliament building in Vilnius.

Council Resolution on Authorized Representatives

LD1703154790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1015 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Resolution read by Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] The resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania on the appointment of authorized representatives of the Republic of Lithuania:

In order to start interstate negotiations between the Republic of Lithuania and the USSR on the settlement of problems concerning the restoration of the independent Lithuanian state, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania resolves to authorize to solve all problems concerning the organization of interstate negotiations between the Republic of Lithuania and the USSR the following persons: coordinator, Vaidotas Antanaitis; members Algirdas Brazauskas, Egidijus Bickauskas, Jurate Kupliauskiene, Nikolajus Medvedevas, and Juozas Oleka.
[Signed] The chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vitautas Landsbergis, Vilnius, 16 March 1990.

Medvedevas on Interregional Group Support

LD1703163190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0948 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Remarks by Deputy Nikolajus Medvedevas at the 17 Mar Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] [words indistinct] Therefore Lithuania's statement and further events demonstrated that Gorbachev played the Lithuanian card very well. There was a microphone installed in advance, a man had to go there and he asked what was happening in Lithuania, then he made a statement and then the whole hall decided that we all must have such a brave president. Thus, we gave strong support to Gorbachev to become a president. I have briefed foreign correspondents about this too, when they asked for my opinion. But the question of Lithuania should be raised this week, on Monday or Tuesday. On Thursday foreign correspondents informed me about the measures to be taken by the Interfront, the Soyuz organization, and others so that here, on the spot, raise this question and make the decision more severe. [as heard] It has been confirmed. Through our friends in MOSCOW NEWS and others we were informed that this was the case but, unfortunately, Lithuania's deputies were no longer there. This is very regrettable. We managed to reach an agreement with the interregional group and a counter-scenario was prepared. You have seen how it went on. It was sufficient for me to say only a few words and and then the interregional group acted. I think that their statements bear witness to the fact that we already have some 400 deputies who fully support all our decisions. This is not a large number, but in case of necessity we may make full use of this. So much I had to say.

On behalf of the deputies of the interregional group I convey congratulations to you on the occasion of the proclamation of independence. I thank for your attention. [applause] I would like to ask you to criticize me for my statements to correspondents in Moscow. The stronger are your criticisms, the earlier it will be for me.

Antanaitis on Moscow Meeting With Yakovlev

LD1703152290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0943 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Remarks by Deputy Antanaitis at the 17 March Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] [Antanaitis] [passage omitted] After A. Brazauskas left Moscow, I had a chance to speak to Yakovlev, the second man in the Soviet Union, and we told him that information about Lithuania should not be distorted. We also said if they tell lies then we will find ways to put these lies right. He said that he could not help us there because Medvedev has been put in charge of matters concerning Lithuania. In all matters concerning Lithuania we shall have to meet Medvedev, whose profile and attitude toward Lithuania we know already.

It has been stated by foreign journalists that Lithuania was the first foreign state to congratulate Gorbachev on the occasion of being elected president of the USSR. [applause] [passage omitted] This we think is a gesture of kindness from Gorbachev, because if our issue was discussed at the People's Congress then—you saw what mood is prevailing there—then it would have been much more difficult to speak there compared with the Supreme Soviet. [as heard]

I would like to draw your attention to two points here. As esteemed A. Brazauskas has already mentioned, they all demand to hold a referendum. They demand a referendum because they have counted the votes and for example, Shved mentioned in his report at the plenum that 37 percent of Lithuania's population voted for

Sajudis. As far as I know the idea of a referendum is supported by the majority of foreign diplomats. [passage omitted]

The issue of borders was raised [in the meeting with Yakovlev]. We have always been reproached on this. We got into contact with esteemed Lozoraitis in Washington and Lozoraitis gave us an official confirmation that all the foreign diplomatic corps consider that the issue of borders of the republic of Lithuania has practically been resolved and that claims from Moscow have no basis.

And the last point. The United States, although unofficially so far, is negotiating with us through their diplomats, asking that the issue be discussed at our Council and that already this year consulates would be set up reciprocally.

Media on 17 Mar Lithuanian Council Session

Moscow TV

LD1703220790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Correspondent A. Paulyus report over video; from the "Vremya" newscast presented by Yeugeniy Kiselev]

[Text] [Paulyus] This morning's session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet opened with a speech by Vitautas Lansbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Speaking about complex international contacts, he said, one could discern signs of certain pressure and, on the other hand, the beginning of recognition and even the beginning of talks. I have in mind the telegram from USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Vitautas Landsbergis specified. The telegram was addressed to me but was, in fact, an address to the Supreme Soviet. The president's wish that a reply be given within three days will certainly be satisfied.

Touching on the question of a referendum, the Supreme Soviet chairman said that at present he does not see any need for holding one, although he has no doubts about the results of a referendum. Deputies were then invited to exchange views on appointing representatives of the Lithuanian Republic in Moscow and to discuss the issue of the powers of some of the USSR People's Deputies election in Lithuania.

The formation of Lithuania's cabinet has begun. Vitautas Landsbergis nominated Professor Kazimira Danute Prunskeine, who is acting chairperson of the Council of Ministers, for the post of head of government. Most of the deputies supported the nomination. Algidras Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Independent Communist Party, and Romualdas Ozolas, editor of the Sajudis newspaper ATGIMIMO, were approved as deputy chairmen, on Prunskeine's proposal.

In the afternoon, a rally of many thousands of people in support of the decisions of the first session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet was held at the Supreme Soviet building on Sajudis' initiative. [video shows session's proceedings; Landsbergis addressing the deputies; the rally]

[Kiselev] Perhaps, you have noticed that Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, spoke about complex international contacts, meaning, apparently, contacts with the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Union's Government in Moscow. The use of such a term as complex international contacts in this context appears to be obviously premature. And there seem to be no sufficient grounds for speaking about pressure in connection with the well-known decision of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies which is written in a polite and reserved tone of cool legal formulas.

Moscow Radio

LD1703210890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The first session of the republican Supreme Soviet continued its work in Lithuania today. Our correspondent Elena Kurklietyte reports on the phone. We apologize for the poor quality of sound.

[Kurklietyte] For two days the deputies were going around the rayons and towns of Lithuania, meeting their electorates and answering the many questions that Lithuanian citizens are worried about. At this morning's session Vitautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, noted in his report on the political situation in the republic that the situation is calm, there are no public disorders, and all enterprises, establishments, and transportation are working. He also acquainted the deputies with the telegram from Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR president, which orders a report to be made within three days on the measures to implement the decision by the extraordinary Third Congress of the USSR People's Deputies in connection with the decision by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic of 10-12 March 1990. Their reply to Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR president, will be discussed at the session. The appointment of the representatives for negotiations in Moscow, some amendments to the fundamental law, discussions of the apparatus structure of the Supreme Soviet, an issue on the status of Lithuanian television, and on the formation of the government of the republic are on the agenda of the first session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. Kazimiera Prunskiene was appointed chairman of the Council of Ministers of Lithuania and Algirdas Brazauskas was appointed first deputy prime minister.

An authorized meeting by many thousands strong in support of the decision by the Supreme Soviet on the reinstatement of Lithuanian state independence, organized by the Sajudis, also took place in Vilnius today. Many of those speaking at the meeting were in favor of those decisions. The meeting also informed that tens of thousands of telegrams and letters in support of those decisions are coming into the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania. They are signed by the people of various nationalities residing in Lithuania. But the people are also worried about whether the parliament will be elected democratically and whether democratic decisions will always be adopted, or whether tendencies to dictate the wishes adopted by a parliamentary floor-group of deputies will appear. For example, in Snieskus, where only seven percent of residents are Lithuanians, a meeting demanding a referendum took place.

Another authorized meeting organized by the Yedinstvo and the CPSU will take place in Vilnius tomorrow. Speaking about this meeting, Vitautas Landsbergis pointed out that everyone has the right to express their own opinion, but instigations to disorder are undesirable. Again he assured the citizens of Lithuania, and the session broadcast on radio and television with simultaneous translation into Russian, that the legal rights of every individual residing in Lithuania will be protected.

[Announcer] Once again we apologize for the quality of the telephone channel, but the complaints should be addressed to the Ministry of Communications, and not to us.

Brazauskas Reports on Gorbachev Conversation

LD1703123190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0928 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Report by Deputy Algirdas Brazauskas, on his conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow at the Congress of People's Deputies on 13 March, to the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] Together with a considerably large group of people's deputies, I also to some extent took part in the work of the Congress [of People's Deputies]. [passage omitted]

However, I would like to tell you that I had a conversation—true, this conversation was not on my initiative, but on Mikhail Gorbachev's initiative—which took place during the break. I thought that perhaps our deputies here would like to hear at least a short summary of this conversation.

This conversation took place on the second day of the Congress and several days have already past. It was the time when M. Gorbachev had not yet been elected president and did not have any plenipotentiaries. Therefore, he spoke to me as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The conversation lasted about 20 minutes and the main topic of the conversation, naturally, concerned the documents and acts which we adopted on 11 March.

I would not say he was very much surprised that such an act restoring the independence of Lithuania had been adopted. Indeed, we have been going toward this and I could add my own opinion that irrespective of who might have been in the leadership of the Supreme Council, we all would have remained here in this house all the same. So, therefore, in fact, in any case this act would have been adopted anyway. This is what I told him so he would not have the impression that all this is the opinion of a small group of people or even a dictate of this small group of people, that is, that this is indeed the expression of the will of the nation, which was expressed in this way.

He further told me, while commenting on our adopted document in a manner somewhat new in comparison with what had been said earlier, that the future political and other paths of life of the Union republics can be very differentiated. This has almost not been mentioned before. These paths can be very different, which of course I supported, saying the republics had joined the Union in very different ways or had been incorporated into it, therefore, these republics will have their own way for further contacts or seceeding from the Soviet Union. I understood that he also more or less had this idea about further events in political activities and about going toward, I do not know which word to use, the perfection of the future composition of the Soviet Union as a state.

He was mentioned on more than one occasion, and he stressed this again at this time, that the nation's right to self-determination, as it is also declared in the law on referendum, has to be absolutely clearly expressed by way of a referendum. This point was stressed several times, and this was not the first time he mentioned it. He said that, moreover, we have a relevant law which is perfect from a juridical point of view. He has probably been acquainted with this law and he said that such a referendum in Lithuania should be held and this, as I understood him, could be a serious basis for further contacts, for further understanding of each other and this could perhaps become a legal basis for the negotiations about which we have been talking.

Those were perhaps the main points mentioned. This time the issue of borders was not raised. He mentioned economic matters and he said that the republics of Central Asia [passage indistinct].

However, it was stressed several times that proceeding toward independence is a process, that this is a path, a taking of steps. This is a certain chain of events, a sequence of events which follow one after another and only in the sequence of this process toward independence can reaching an agreement be possible. He said he would like to tell me that if this method of consistent proceeding along the path is not adopted, this could make the situation for our republic as well as other republics more difficult. He said he wanted me to understand this.

I said I understood what he was talking about. However, I said I was here alone from 140 deputies who are in Lithuania and that I could only convey what he said to them. He asked me to do this when the occasion presented itself. [passage omitted]

He also mentioned the Finnish variant. I cannot recall every detail of this. Supporting him I said, look at Finland of today. It is a flourishing state economically and culturally that is next to the Soviet Union, a state with a different path than that of the Baltic republics. This path has developed historically and as a result of other numerous factors, and perhaps, as a result of all these the consolidation of Finland as a state along the path of independence, which Gorbachev said is an interesting variants on the whole. [preceding seven words in Russian] He began to genarlize his own thoughts.

It seems that the path of Finlandization, as many of our economists and lawyers refer to it, perhaps indeed is worth giving some consideration. [passage omitted] Although there was a military confrontation between those two states in 1939, a certain path was found which allowed Finland to become a completely sovereign and independent state which has been economically consolidated. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Supreme Council Seeks Talks

PM1903123590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Mar 90 Single Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent K. Ustsila report: "Border Posts in Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius, 16 Mar—Henceforth the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA will be called EKHO LITVY. This decision was made yesterday at a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. Measures to limit the unregulated export of goods from the republic were also discussed. With this aim it is planned to set up 37 border checkpoints in the immediate future.

Inasmuch as a definite section of Lithuania's inhabitants is dissatisfied with the results of the elections of parliament's leaders, and precisely with the fact that V. Landsbergis rather than A. Brazauskas has been elected chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, signatures are being collected on this account. Yesterday Landsbergis and Brazauskas appeared together on republic television. They were persuading the population that the election results are not in doubt, that to dispute them is to play into the hands of Lithuania's opponents, and that Lithuania now needs accord and calm. Landsbergis expressed the opinion that the processes taking place in Lithuania are irreversible and that talks will undoubtedly be held with the USSR.

Late yesterday evening the "State Studio" transmission was carried for the first time on republic television. Answering a question on the reaction to be expected to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies decision on the decisions taken by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, Landsbergis said that this is the decision of another country and is not binding on us, that no one has the right to repeal our decisions, and that we simply should not react to this decision and must continue to pursue our affairs. He said that this reaction on the part of the USSR was to be expected and that it is not a calamity that they do not recognize us today—there will come a time when they will.

As for the status of the CPSU organization in Lithuania, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet said that until now the conditions of activity of "another state's political organization" have not been specified by any legislative acts, so this ought to be done at the next Supreme Soviet session.

During the same television broadcast, acting head of government K. Prunskene talked about the preparations being made for talks with the USSR, and the regulations [reglament] and draft treaty being prepared. She reported that work is underway to resolve questions of the border and the status of military units in Lithuania.

USSR People's Deputy E. Bichkauskas, speaking on television today, said that tomorrow (17 March) the composition of the delegation to hold talks with the USSR ought to be ratified at a Supreme Soviet session.

The republic's mass media have reported that the collectives of the Supreme Soviet Presidium apparatus, the "Mintis" publishers, and the ELTA news agency have been depoliticized: The activity of party organizations at these establishments has been suspended.

Adviser Sees No Military Action in Lithuania

LD1703204990 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 2000 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on relations between Moscow and Lithuania] Vadim Zagladin, an adviser to Gorbachev on matters of national security has said in Madrid that a military intervention in Lithuania is not possible. Zagladin added that all decisions which are made will be democratic and in accordance with the Constitution. However, Zagladin acknowledged that there exists a serious problem because Lithuania has adopted its independence before a law has been drawn up on the procedure for legal withdrawal from the USSR.

Lithuanian, Estonian Communists View Independence

LD1703122490 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT17 Mar 90

[Text] Before closing its emergency session in Moscow the Congress of People's Deputies declared Lithuania's decision to reestablish statehood invalid. More details from Pyotr Vasilyev, this is what he writes:

The draft declaration which the chairman of the House of Nationalities, Rafik Nishanov, read out to the Congress condemning the decision of the Lithuanian parliament and declaring it invalid was strongly worded and precipitated a heated debate. What was finally adopted was much milder; a reasonable, moderate attitude had prevailed. At the news conference following his election, President Gorbachev said we are not preparing to hold official talks but we do intend to have a dialogue, a respectful dialogue with the people of Lithuania, that is with their representatives.

When I contacted a spokesman for the Central Committee of the Independent Communist Party of Lithuania, Algimantas Zukas, by telephone, I asked what the feeling was in the republic about Moscow's reaction. A dialogue was possible, he said, but it was important how it would be carried on. Some of the deputies, he said, had used their speeches at the Congress to exert very heavy pressure on Lithuania. He felt that the political situation being what it was, attempts to force a decision would not solve the problem. But he thought things would not go that far.

There was mention at the Congress that many telegrams had been received from Russian-speaking people living in Lithuania who feared for their security. I asked the spokesman why there was such a fear. He said that Lithuanian journalists were looking into the matter. He believed that some of the telegrams had been instigated, but at once he withdrew the accusation and said simply that people felt insecure because for 50 years they've been told that anything other than the existing system would be a disaster. He believed that these were the people who were sending the telegrams. The spokesman for the Independent Communist Party of Lithuania dismissed as incorrect figures cited at the Congress of People's Deputies about the percentage of Lithuania and the percentage of Russian-speaking people in the republic. He said Lithuanians made up 80 percent of the population. The remaining 600,000 people were Russian-speaking. He declared that no one intended to repress them, deprive them of any rights or deport them. On Sunday the 18th he said, the Russian- speaking population of Vilnius plan to hold a meeting. It could be expected to clarify matters.

Peter Vasilyev asked how he, Algimantas Zukas, felt about a referendum. He considered it a possibility, he said, but the members of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet believe that since they had been elected by the people and represented the people their decision to restore Lithuania's statehood reflected the opinion of the great majority. But he did not dismiss the possibility of a referendum; he said many supported the idea.

Peter Vasilyev asked what he expected Lithuania to do next and what stand the Independent Communist Party had taken. Algimantas Zukas said the two policies were nearly parallel. On Thursday the chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet, Vitautas Landsbergis and the head of the Independent Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, had appeared together on TV and urged people not to complicate the situation in the republic by aggravating relations. All the republic's leaders and its main poliical groups, he said, were preparing facts and figures for the dialogue with Moscow.

In another Baltic republic, Estonia, the parliament has also raised the issue of talks with the Soviet government on the subject of independence, so Peter Vasilyev contacted the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party and asked (?Raymond Palmeva) if they thought a way could be found for republics to leave the Soviet Union if they so wished. He thought it could and said it was the one reasonable way to settle the pressing ethnic problems. The main thing, he said, was that there should be energetic bilateral efforts to find mutually acceptable terms.

Peter Vasilyev asked about the position of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. (?Raymund Palmeva) said it (?was) fully supported the people's wish for sovereignty and independence. He added however that the republic did not intend to break off economic, social, and other contacts with the Soviet Union. On Sunday the 18th Estonia would elected a new parliament and talks with Moscow should follow. No one doubted, he said, that a solution could only be political.

That was from our special correspondent Pyotr Vasilyev. [all Pyotr/Peter variations as heard)

Lithuanian Supreme Council Issues Appeals

To Lithuanian Soldiers

LD1703160490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1537 GMT 17 Mar 90

["Text" of an appeal read in Russian by an unidentified male voice from the live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius]

[Text] We call upon all the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania who are currently doing military service in the Soviet Armed Forces to remain in their places of service until the decision has been made through negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union concerning your return to Lithuania.

We call upon all soldiers not to give cause for a conflict by your behavior.

Send information about conditions and location of your military service to the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania.

To Lithuanian People

LD1703175490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1728 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Appeal to the people of Lithuania read by Ceslovas Stankevicius, chairman of the Supreme Council session, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Appeal of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania to all the citizens of the republic:

We would like to remind that all the citizens of the republic and also all those who will want to become citizens of this republic, have definite civic duties to this republic. Let the responsibility for maintaining calm and order, and [word indistinct] concord be a firm moral stand of every adult person. Execution of the law without violation is a guarantee of the rights of the citizens of this republic.

Appeal Revised

LD1703200590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1907 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Revised appeal to the people of Lithuania adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Council at its session in Vilnius and read by Deputy K. Saja—live]

[Text] Appeal to all the citizens of the republic:

It is only a few days since Lithuania gained its independence. It can be defended only by the historical truth, by the endurance of the people of Lithuania, by calm and unity.

Future citizens of free and democratic Lithuania. Every one of you must be aware of your duty to the motherland. Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Jews, Karaims, and people of other nationalities living in Lithuania, do not give in to the instigators of dissention whose aim is to split us and to subdue the desire for freedom and the truth.

Let us keep calm and order and observe a brotherly attitude to our neighbor. Let all people of good will of the world see that we are worthy of freedom, worthy of the international recognition of independent Lithuania.

To Governments World-Wide

LD1703161890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1328 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Appeal to the governments of the world read by Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] On 11 March Lithuania declared through democratically elected representatives that the legal continuation of statehood of the Republic of Lithuania, which was occupied and annexed by the USSR in 1940, has now been restored.

Therefore, Lithuania is returning back to the family of democratic states of the world and expects their support.

An important sign of moral and political support would be to recognize legal acts and decisions adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania on 11 March 1990 and the new government of the Republic of Lithuania.

We ask you to do this and express our gratitude in advance.

Troops Inspect Lithuania Prewar Border Line

LD1703173190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1552 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Statement by Marijonas Misuikonis, Lithuanian minister of internal affairs, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] A good half an hour ago I spoke to General Pikauskas and he explained to me that the assault troops which are stationed on the territory of the republic worked today according to the set plan, that is, every year, every month they move with their vehicles and ammunition, and so on.

I also got in touch with, I spoke on the phone with the KGB. The representatives of the KGB told me the same as what General Pikauskas told me.

Now, concerning the Snieckus and Ignalina Rayons. Indeed, today at about midnight, servicemen arrived in four military vehicles at Daugeliskes, Silenai village; the vehicles had no number plates. The residents told us that the servicemen were interested in the border line of prewar Lithuania. The head of the Internal Affairs Department arrived at the scene and met the servicemen. However, the servicemen refused to give him any explanation.

Concerning the helicopter I can only tell you that the helicopter belongs to the Baltic Military Region.

Military Helicopters Drop Leaflets in Vilnius

LD1703153690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1403 GMT 17 mar 90

[Excerpts] Here is an urgent report from Vilnius sent in by correspondent Janina Mecelicaite.

[Begin recording] [Mecelicaite] I have never seen in all my life military helicopters flying so low and strewing leaflets like snow, leaflets which urge people to come to a rally. A fairly lengthy text is written on the leaflet in Russian. The main issue raised here is whether the deputies of the Lithuanian Supreme Council had the right to restore the statehood of Lithuania. [passage omitted interviewing people about their reaction to Supreme Council declaration]

[Unidentified male voice] The military have no right to use the military equipment bought from our money and [which is] meant to protect us and not to be used for setting us against each other. [passage omitted]

[Mecelicaite] The majority of the interviewed Vilnius residents voiced a unanimous opinion saying that they support the decisions adopted by the session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania. Therefore, who benefited by today's action which brought so much anxiety and worries and, no doubt, was costly as well? [end recording]

Gorbachev Cables Landsbergis on Congress Decision

LD1603180390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1749 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (TASS)—We transmit the following text of the telegram from the president of the USSR:

"To Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, Vilnius.

"I am forwarding the decision of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies, adopted on 15 March 1990.

"Report in three days time on measures to implement the said decision.
"[Signed] President of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev"

More on Cable

LD1603184390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 16 (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a telegram today to Vitautas Landsbergis, the newly-elected chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet. It proposes that he should report within three days on measures for implementing the decision of the Third extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies on Lithuania, which was adopted yesterday.

The decision of the congress sent simultaneously with the telegram regards the decisions adopted by the Lithuanian Parliament on 10-12 March on the "restoration of the independence of the Lithuanian state" and on the abolition of the operation of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR Constitution on the republic's territory as having "no legal juridical force."

"While having the constitutional right to self-determination, a union republic cannot, at the same time, either when joining the Federation or seceding from it, ignore the political, socioeconomic, territorial, legal, and other problems arising thereby," the decision emphasizes.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies established that "the sovereignty of the USSR and the force of the USSR Constitution still apply on the territory of Lithuania as a Union Soviet Socialist Republic".

Border Posts To Limit Lithuanian Exports

LD1603185590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] And so, what's new in Lithuania in today? Note that the SOVETSKAYA LITVA newspaper is to be known as EKHO LITVY [ECHO OF LITHUANIA]. Thirty-seven border control posts are soon to be created in order to limit exports of goods from the Republic.

Finally, reacting to the decision on Lithuania of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, Landsbergis, chairman of the Republic's Supreme Soviet, has said that it is the decision of a foreign country and is not binding upon Lithuania.

Landsbergis on Political Situation in Lithuania

LD1703005690 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Yesterday a news conference was held at the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian republic. Chairman Vitautas Landsbergis briefed journalists on the political situation in Lithuania, the deputies' activities and the problems tackled by the Supreme Council at present. He said that tomorrow the Supreme Council will start forming the republic's government. It will also most probably decide the role to be assigned to Algirdas Brazauskas in the new government.

Characterizing the situation in Lithuania, the chairman of the Supreme Council pointed out that stability was now the key problem in the republic. There is no opposition betwen the majority and miniority in parliament and even less so between the leaders of some or other political forces, he said. This was proved by the talk given by Vytautas Landsbergis and Algirdas Brazauskas on Lithuanian TV last night.

Answering a question concerning the revision of Lithuania's borders, Vitautas Landsbergis said that by raising this issue Moscow and other states were given a pretext to play a game unfavorable for Lithuania. Another important issue concerning the service of Lithuanian youth in the Soviet Army was touched upon at the news conference. As is known, the Supreme Council declared the Soviet Union's conscription law invalid but Vytautas Landsbergis said, referring to his talk with the military commissar of Lithuania, that the latter was going to continue enforcing the law, although in Vytautas Landsbergis' opinion this would be illegal. This is the transitional period, Vytautas Landsbergis pointed out.

Developments in Lithuania Reported; Paper Renamed

LD1603155990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 16 Mar 90

[By TASS correspondent Kasis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 16 Mar (TASS)—The newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA will from now on be called ECHO LITVY. This decision was adopted at today's session of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. Also discussed were measures to restrict the uncontrolled [nekontroliruyemiy] export of goods out of the republic. To this end, it is intended to set up in the immediate future 37 border control posts.

Signatures are being collected over the dissatisfaction felt in Lithuania by a certain section of the inhabitants over the results of the elections for leader of the parliament, and precisely, over the fact that Vitautis Landsbergis, and not Algirdas Brazauskas, was elected chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Yesterday evening, Vitautis Landsbergis and Algirdas Brazauskas appeared together on republican television. They assured the population that there is no doubt about the result of the elections, that to dispute them is to play into the hands of the enemies of Lithuania, and that at the present time Lithuania needs accord and calm. Vitautis Landsbergis expressed the opinion that the processes taking place in Lithuania are irreversible and that talks with the USSR will undoubtedly take place.

Late yesterday evening the program "State Studio" was broadcast on republican television for the first time. In reply to a question about what the reaction should be to the decision of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the decisions of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, Vitautis Landsbergis said that is the decision of a foreign [chuzhoy] country and it is not binding for us, that no one has the right to annul our decisions, that we simply do not need to react to that decision, and that we should continue our business further. He said that no other reaction on the part of the USSR could have been expected and that it is no misfortune that they do not recognize [our decisions] today; the time will come when they will recognize them.

As far as the status of the CPSU in Lithuania is concerned, the Supreme Soviet chairman said that conditions for the activities of the "political organization of a foreign state" have not yet been stipulated by any legislative acts, for this reason this should be done at the next session of the Supreme Soviet.

Kazimiera Prunskiene, who is temporarily carrying out the duties of head of government, spoke during the same television broadcast on how the preparations for talks with the USSR are being conducted and how regulations and a draft agreement are being prepared. She reported that work is being carried out, directed toward solving the issues of the border and the status of military units in Lithuania.

USSR People's Deputy Edigijus Bickauskas, who spoke on television today, said that by tomorrow, 17 March, the membership of the delegation for conducting talks with the USSR should be confirmed.

The republic's mass media reported on the fact that the collectives of the Supreme Soviet Presidium apparatus, of the "Mintis" publishing house, and of the ELTA news agency have been depoliticized; the activities of party organizations have been halted in these establishments.

Russian View on Lithuanian Independence

LD1803104190 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] As expected, the decision by the newly elected Lithuanian parliament to restore the independent Republic of Lithuania aroused a variety of opinions among the non-Lithuanian population. A few rallies of protest have already been held. In the seaport of Klaipeda on Wednesday and in the factory of Vilnius on Thursday, but the first spontaneous rally in Lithuania was held by the non-Lithuanians of the Snieckus settlement in the north east of the republic. Snieckus is mostly inhabited by the staff of the Ignalina atomic power plant and Lithuanians make [up] only seven per cent of the total population of 34,000 people.

The key demand voiced at the rally was to hold a referendum on Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union, that is to question the validity of the Independence Act adopted by the Lithuanian parliament.

Here is how the parliamentary decisions and rally in Snieckus was commented on the phone by (?Genada Svetlitskaya), secretary of the town municipality.

[Begin (Svetlitskaya) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The radical decision by the Supreme Council of Lithuania certainly does not leave the people here indifferent, says (?Genada Svetlitskaya) because most people haven't even thought seriously of such a sharp turn in political developments in Lithuania. The Act of Independence was a real surprise to some. The rally itself was held peacefully and [words indistinct]. Although the organizers of the demonstration did not identify themselves I think the rally was held at the initiative of the management of the atomic power plant, supported by the pro-Moscow Communist Party leaders in the town of Snieckus. The majority of the population is against the idea of a referendum, however. It's not so important now where and with whom to live, (?Genada Svetlitskaya) says, it's much more important to live well. [end recording]

The stand of the town municipality as to the Monday rally is unequivocal. The rally was not sanctioned, while the demands to hold a referendum [were] unlawful. Therefore the next day, on Tuesday, mayor of the Snieckus settlement (?Rimantas Kumpis) sent a telegram to Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis, which reads the following:

On behalf of the inhabitants of Snieckus I ask you to come to our town for a meeting with the personnel of the Ignalina atomic power plant and the workers of the USSR Western Construction Department. The people in Snieckus are worried about their social security and about the fate of the atomic power plant. For the sake of both sides we badly need a constructive dialogue of competent people.

By way of responding to the telegram a group of Lithuanian parliamentarians went to Snieckus for meetings with the local people. Incidentally, most Lithuanian MPs are having meetings with their electors these days while the work of parliament is adjourned till Saturday.

Speaking on the phone, Mayor of Snieckus (?Rimantas Kumpis) gave some details of the prliamentarians' visit to the town of the atomic power plant personnel.

[Begin (Kumpis) recording with superimposed English translation] The dialogue that we had yesterday between the residents of the town, atomic power plant staff, and the builders on one side, and a group of Lithuanian MPs on the other side was most useful. The group of guests from Vilnius was headed by Professor Bronius Kuzmickas, vice-chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, and the other three parliamentarians were an economist, a physicist, and a leader of an independent workers' union. The talk was rather constructive, but it wasn't an easy (?chat) and it lasted more than three hours. It focused on the problems that worry the dwellers of Snieckus, who are predominantly Russian-speaking people. They find the act proclaiming the restoration of Lithuania's independence threatening in the sense that it will mean serving links with their motherland. The act cuts off their roots, as they put it. The people fear that they will have no social guarantees, that they will lose their jobs as the fate of the Ignalina atomic power plant is not certain. The guests from Vilnius were very patient and honest in answering the questions and elucidating various points to the local people. Judging by how the majority of the audience reacted to what the MPs were telling them, the inhabitants of Snieckus support and are well inclined to contribute to the cause of Lithuania's future by their conscientious work, said Mayor of Snieckus (?Rimantas Kumpis). [end recording]

Yesterday night Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vitautas Landsbergis and the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party Algirdas Brazauskas made a TV appeal to the citizens of Lithuania. By calm and logical argumentation they explained the current situation in the Republic of Lithuania and spoke about the prospects for talks with the eastern neighbor, the USSR. Algirdas Brazauskas pointed out that the processes in Lithuania were irreversible. As noted by (?Rimantas Kumpis) of Snieckus, this particular moment was also given emphasis during the meeting of Lithuanian MPs wih the population of Snieckus yesterday:

[Resume (Kumpis) recording with superimposed English translation] The parliamentarians stressed that no matter what the future relations with the Soviet Union were going to be good or bad, the changes cannot be reversed, says the mayor of Snieckus. There is no returning from the road to independent Lithuania, there can only be progress ahead. The population of Snieckus may be also scared because they are igorant about the structure of the future Lithuanian state, about the development of the economy and about the passage of laws that is going to be passed. On the other hand there are certainly a number of people who stick to the old standards of reasoning, they are categorically against Lithuania's inedependence. [end recording]

If we compare the moods at the beginning and at the end of this week there is a marked change for the better in the public attitudes toward Lithuania's independence in the north east Lithuanian town of Snieckus, which is inhabited mostly by Russian-speaking people. (?Rimantas Kumpis), mayor of the settlement.

[Resume (Kumpis) recording with English translation] The first wave of emotions has subsided, says (?Rimantas Kumpis). The demands by the participants in the rally on Monday to hold a referendum have been rejected as groundless. [end recording]

The Democratic Club seems to be the major consolidating force in Snieckus now. With a majority of its members being non-affiliated to any party, the Democratic Club also unites radical representatives of the Communist Party loyal to Moscow, as well as members of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, and of the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania. The workers' union and the Russian Orthodox Church community also take part in the work of the club. The positive effects of the club's activity are already becoming apparent. It is namely the merit of the Democratic Club that on 24 February two-thirds of the Snieckus inhabitants boycotted the elections to the Lithuanian parliament. This action of protest was caused by the sudden and mysterious transfer of Archbishop Antoniy to the remote Siberian city. He had been running for candidacy in this constituency and was well-known for his democratic views. After the recall of the archbishop of the Vilnius and Lithuanian Orthodox Church there remained no alternative candidate in the constituency. At the invitation of the Democratic Club the people refused to go to the polls and a new election is to be held early in April.

Now to conclude this report on the public opinions in the Russian populated town of Snieckus in north east Lithuania here is a brief telephone interview with (?Valentina Abdulbarova) of the Democratic Front. Thi is how she assesss the political situation in Lithuania and in Snieckus.

[Begin (Abdulbarova) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] First of all I should say that the problem of the restoration of the independent Lithuanian State concerns not only the Lithuanian nation but all the non-Lithuanian residents too, said (?Valentina Abdulbarova). How do I assess the events in Lithuania? It's quite natural and no secret to all that during the past two years the drive toward Lithuania's independence has made itself felt very much. But for the majority of Snieckus residents Lithuania's independence is too sudden. The meeting between MPs who visited Snieckus yesterday and its residents was characterized by well-wishing on the part of the MPs. However, part of the participants in the meeting, those who support the Soviet Union's Communist Party, voiced their opinions ultimatum-like and left the hall. The remaining audience was inclined to grasp the current situation. Besides many people believe that negotiations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union will be after all started successfully. [end recording]

It turns out that practically all the members of the Democratic Club in the Snieckus settlement have no doubts as to the irrevesibility of the process underway in Lithuanian at present. Here is (?Valentina Abdulbarova) on the line again.

[Resume (Abdulbarova) recording with English translation] We think that the processes [words indistinct] in Lithuania are irreversible. Although not that quickly as we would like to, we will all have to join the Lithuanian nation on the road it has chosen. We pin great hopes and expectations upon the Soviet Union's President Mikhail Gorbachev. Yesterday night I was following attentively the television coverage of the debates on Lithuania at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow. I retain the hope, however slight, that the neighboring Soviet state will take no drastic economic blockade sanctions against Lithuania. Lithuania is the only one of the Soviet Union republics which has so resolutely taken the road toward independence. This is the will of the nation, its free choice, which is backed up by most non-Lithuanians here in Snieckus, concludes the Russian (?Valentina Abdulbarova). [end recording]

One could hardly claim that this sudden and noisy response to the first radical decisions by the Lithuanian parliament has triggered off confusion and instability in Lithuania. Tomorrow Sajudis is holding a rally in Vilnius to back up the decisions of the new parliament, and on Sunday a rally will be held by the notorious Yedinstvo organization. We shall report about these rallies in the nearest broadcasts of Radio Vilnius.

Discussion on Latest Lithuanian Developments

PM1603114090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 8

[Own correspondent Leonid Kapelyushnyy report from Vilnius under the "Direct Line" rubric: "At a Turning Point"]

[Text] On television in the evening and on the radio in the daytime, Lithuanians are following the heated debates in their Supreme Soviet.

In five days of work, people have emerged as authorities on observing the standing orders, experts in legal and procedural norms, masters of the apt expression, subtle diplomats, and heedless radicals. In these few days the parliamentarians have consistently continued the line of the restoration of statehood. In addition to political documents—appeals to the people of the Soviet Union, the people of Lithuania and the world, and the national communities of Lithuania, the Supreme Soviet has also embarked on more difficult tasks. Three legislative acts that have been adopted seem to me to merit attention. By a decision of parliament, all enterprises, institutions, and organizations under union jurisdiction are henceforth under the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Republic. I have said before now that the Lithuanian side has its own view on who owns the enterprises standing on its soil, even if they were created by the efforts and endeavors of the whole country. People say here that they are Lithuania's property.

The original version stated that all facilities, with the exception of oil and gas pipelines and USSR Defense Ministry (Armed Forces) facilities, are transferred to the republic's jurisdiction. But after debates, the exception was removed. A proposal was submitted that this draft law should not be adopted at all, because the concept of economic autonomy is, in a sense, wider than this particular issue.

I personally have formed the impression that the heat of passion in the discussion of this economic question was determined by the political undercurrents and to some extent by uncertainty. Say what you like, it is better, if you are "expropriating" someone else's property, to do it, if not actually in the presence of the owner, at least with his knowledge.

One of the other main news items was the resolution of the republic Supreme Soviet on the invalidity of the USSR Law on Univeral Military Service on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic. And as a first step toward putting this resolution into practice—the cessation of the operation of military commissariats on Lithuanian territory.

There is something that must be said on this point. V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, stated at one sitting that a top military leader had approached him with a worrying report.

A mood of demobilization has spread rapidly among soldiers of Lithuanian nationality. But until the adoption of official decisions of some kind by the Soviet Government, these lads carry on their shoulders, as well as their shoulder straps, the burden of accountability before the law. The conflict must be resolved with the least possible losses to both sides...

It would be naive to imagine that Lithuania can do without a military force. It is no accident that the suggestion was raised in parliament that the commissariats that are being abolished should hand over their registration documentation to the new authorities. A newly formed Supreme Soviet commission is formulating a plan for the protection of the region, bringing in military experts, among others, as consultants.

The newly elected and insufficiently experienced Lithuanian parliament does not always operate efficiently, and sometimes debates lasting many hours take place where there is really no problem. As for the resolution on the status of USSR people's deputies elected by Lithuanian voters, they had several shots at discussing this, over several days. At the very same moment that the Congress of USSR People's Deputies was deciding which is the more noble course—to count or not to count the Lithuanian deputies' votes—the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session was voting by 113 votes to six abstentions to change the status of USSR people's deputies from Lithuanian from present to former. The reasons: Since the USSR Constitution does not operate on the republic's territory, the deputies cannot carry out the duties imposed by that Constitution. Nor can you carry out state service in another state.

At the time the majority of the USSR people's deputies were at the Congress, but there were a good many of them here in the auditorium too. Including USSR Supreme Soviet members. But no attempt was made to evaluate this unprecedented step from the viewpoint of the Law on the Status of Deputies or the voters' interests.

For all the apparent unanimity and consensus of opinions (the Supreme Soviet adopts all its decisions by a majority of votes), emotions keep flaring up in parliament. The fact is that by no means all the voters are pleased with parliament's choice in giving preference to V. Landsbergis over A. Brazauskas. Accustomed to deciding everything by the laws of rallies, they are sending their deputies telegrams demanding that they change their decision.

Alas, the train has already left, as the saying goes. Sajudis leader Vitautas Landsbergis was elected according to the law. This situation presents a curious problem for political scientists. According to the results of polls by Lithuanian sociologists and the Gallup Institute, the rating of Algirdas Brazauskas, leader of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, is unusually high. So why was he not elected?

There are probably several reasons. But one of the main ones is that the voters did not take account of the fact that it is not enough to vote for Central Committee First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas in the elections. In the conditions of a multiparty system, for the Communist Party leader to become head of the republic, it would have been necessary also to support his team, the candidates from the Communist Party and the candidates from the bloc allied with it. Now one can only speculate about the turn events would have taken in the Supreme Soviet had A. Brazauskas won support. But I would venture to suggest that there would have been a less alarming degree of tension in society...

I am not a lawyer and will not evaluate the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet decision on secession from the USSR from the viewpoint of international law or, say, the laws of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. In particular, the law on referendums. Ultimately the highest justice and legality is the people's will. Judging by Lithuanina press items, the people are delighted. If there are any manifestations of displeasure, they are organized by provocative elements...

But are the people really so unanimous? By bringing back the 1938 Lithuanian Constitution the Supreme Soviet has in essence embarked on the restoration of the former social system.

A recent issue of SOVETSKAYA LITVA publishes a message by Chairman V. Landsbergis to the people of Lithuania—an appeal for consensus. A timely appeal. And God grant that everyone heeds it...

The state of tranquillity in the republic is fragile. The anti-Russian, anti-Polish, and anti-Soviet hysteria that has apparently become the norm for the radicals' propagandist actions has not, alas, passed away without trace.

The Russian-speaking population, of whom there are more than half a million in Lithuania, are anxious. Will the foreign land of Lithuania be their home? It is not very nice when people hurl insulting nicknames at you and tell you that you had better go and revive Russia in the Nonchernozem or somewhere else. And the very fact of finding yourself abroad is not to everyone's liking, especially since there is no promise of an easy life here. The first alarm signal was the rally in Snechkus, the city of nuclear power workers. A gathering of many thousands of people, in the pouring rain, demanded a referendum and declared the secession from the USSR to be unlawful. I will not whip up passions by listing the places where other rallies and meetings have taken place. A rally in Vilnius is planned in the next few days, as a kind of culmination. The provisional Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee does not recognize the secession from the USSR as lawful.

In the meantime, tension is rising and rising. I am convinced that until such time as juridical and economic decisions are adopted, it is necessary to give firm guarantees to the Russian-speaking population, and indeed to all the citizens of Lithuania, that none of them will be deprived of Soviet citizenship against his will. That their property rights will be protected. That is a hundred times more important than the future price of oil and fat...

Landsbergis Interviewed on Economic Blockade

LD1503123290 Warsaw PAP in English 1147 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Lithuania reckons with the possibility of a Soviet economic blockade, the newly elected speaker of Lithuanian parliament Vitautas Landsbergis told GAZETA WYBORCZA today. However, "if this is supposed to be the price of freedom, the Lithuanian people are willing to pay it," he said.

"The Scandinavian countries have pledged to provide us with their assistance. Luckily enough, we have got a nuclear power plant, the one whose construction we had been fighting for years. Now it has come in useful. Also, we have discovered our own crude oil deposits which we are about to develop. They are going to cover 30 percent of our demand in the field. Moscow may block deliveries of certain raw materials, but finished products had been always shipped back to the Soviet Union.

"The Army complies with our instructions, while militia had long before declared its loyalty to the Lithuanian state. Also, the security apparatus is at least partly in the hands of our people. Only circles connected with the Soviet authorities might cause some trouble," Landsbergis admitted.

"Polish MPs [members of parliament] were really loyal to Lithuania in the course of the voting on the declaration of independence. The fact that none of them voted against, while three were for will be cherished in the memory of Lithuanian people," Landsbergis added.

Divided Opinions in Lithuania Highlighted

LD1703050990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Video report by correspondent D. Kiselev in Vilnius; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kiselev] SOVETSKAYA LITVA, the parliamentary and government newspaper, today published the text of the provisional fundamental law of the Republic of Lithuania. This constitution declares the earth and the wealth it contains is the exclusive property of the Republics of Lithuania. Military service in the Army of the Republic of Lithuania is called a duty of honor. The state language is Lithuanian. Russian is not mentioned separately. While retaining the structure of the soviets of people's deputies, the fundamental law proclaims the equality of all citizens before the law irrespective of race, gender, origin, social standing, or wealth. In addition, the people's deputies to the republican parliament have made a special address beginning with the words:

Dear people of Lithuania. After several decades of waiting, anguish, and grief the independence of the state of Lithuania has been restored. We, the deputies you elected, voted unanimously for a free and independent Lithuania.

It goes on to call for unity in the name of the republic's future.

The new document and address do have an impact of course, but it is not the same for everyone. Old people still recall, for example, how the people's Sejm of Lithuania on 21 July 1940 proclaimed genuine power of the people and the state reconstruction of the area. They are in no hurry to say anything. They just remember. They know the value of declarations written on paper. What is most important is what they become.

However that may be, this meeting was held at one of the Vilnius factories subordinate to the Union as a whole.

[V.V. Dobychin, first secretary of the Oktrybrskiy Rayon Committee of the Lithuania Communist Party on the CPSU Platform, Vilnius; identified by screen caption] What will become of us? What will become of the whole Soviet Union? This question worries everyone. I want to tell you that yesterday the council of the working collective of our factory adopted a telegram which read as follows:

Comrade Pervyshin, Union minister of communications, the Congress of People's Deputies, Moscow. The council of the working collective of the Vilnius factory of radio measuring instruments expresses its disagreement with the decisions of the session of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet to put a stop to the validity of the Constitution and Union laws on the territory of Lithuania. The decisions adopted by the session of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet do not express the will and interests of all the inhabitants of the republic.

In the city of Vilnius more than 50,000 people voted for our party candidates. That's just for the city of Vilnius, you know and that's no small part of the population. Today our party is going to protect and defend all their interests at this difficult time which is especially difficult for this minority. [video show Kiselev reading a copy of SOVETSKAYA LITVA aloud on a busy street; street scenes; close-up of the deputies' address; Lithuanian flags on building; meeting with slogan in Lithuanian close -up of Dobychin addressing the crowd and reading out the telegram to Pervyshin; slogan saying: "The fate of Lithuania should be decided only by referendum"]

Anniversary Marks Possible Closure of Station

LD0903213490

[Editorial Report] Vilnius in English to North America at 2300 GMT on 8 March devotes its entire 30-minute broadcast to a special anniversary program marking 25 years of Radio Vilnius' English service. The program consists of discussions between staff members on their careers and interests, and includes an interview with Vlades Dobilas, who has been working at the station for two and a half years.

An unidentified female announcer says: "You are really living through the most exciting times at present. But (?rather), let's look into the future: Do you think your English service has a future in the face of the changing political situation and the imminent economic difficulties, say, an economic blockade?

Dobilas answers: "Well, really this is something that worries me sometimes. And perhaps I'm going to sound out of tune on this day when all are supposed to be merry and smiling; perhaps my colleagues will call me a killjoy later, but I do see a possibility that Radio Vilnius English service may be closed down. Whether you like it or not, that may come and that may come in two ways. First, Moscow may get too irritated, that it will start turning off all practical taps and they will simply refuse us [word indistinct]. Further, they will simply refuse us the further use of relay stations which are based in Moscow. Lithuania does not have such relay stations with which we could broadcast our programs worldwide. And although Lithuania pays for those relay stations, well, Moscow might just choose to teach us a lesson for being so disobedient. And then again, when Lithuania becomes independent there might be—and I'm sure that Lithuania will be confronted with—well, torrents of financial, economic problems, and all the problems are sure to (?ride) extremely heavy on the nation and I'm afraid that in the face of these problems we, that is Radio Vilnius English service, might be sacrificed. We bring no material wealth after all, and the time for wasting money on propaganda, for propaganda's sake, has gone by, and I do not think that such a step [words indistinct] however sad it might me."

Baltic Sovereignty Push Blamed on USSR Delay

PM1803191390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 90 p 1

["Own Information" report: "Meeting in Riga"]

[Text] Elections to the republic Supreme Soviet are taking place in Latvia today. Members of a commission of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly have paid an unofficial visit to Riga on the election eve.

Meetings have been held at the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers. The guests were interested in the development of political processes in the Baltic, particularly the possibility of a repetition of the Lithuanian scenario in Latvia after today's elections.

A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, observed at a meeting with the parliamentarians that a declaration on restoring Latvia's statehood had already been adopted at the last session of the republic Supreme Soviet and that delay in forming a new federation in the USSR is inducing the Baltic to seek sovereignty in its own way.

TASS Previews Latvian Election

LD1803123290 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Riga March 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent:

The red-white-red state flags of the Latvian Republic are hoisted at all polling stations today as people go to the polls to elect members of the republican parliament.

Three hundred and ninety candidates are contesting 201 seats. The Supreme Council of Latvia will be new not only formally but actually as well: 94 percent of registered candidates are contesting seats in parliament for the first time.

According to the Central Electoral Commission, 69 percent of candidates are members of the Communist Party and 45.9 percent are members of the Latvian Popular Front (there are also communists among them). Every sixth candidate represents the Latvian Agrarian Union.

The Social Democrats, the Greens Party, the International Front of the Working People, and the Movement for National Independence of Latvia have also nominated their representatives to run for the Supreme Council. There are two clergymen among the candidates for the first time.

There are only 7.4 percent of women among candidates. The age of candidates is mainly 40-50 years. Industrial workers account for 4.1 percent of all candidates and agricultural workers—for 10.3 percent.

More than 60 percent of registered candidates are Letts and 26.5 percent are Russians. Other nationalities inhabiting the republic are also represented.

There is one candidate in 48 out of 201 electoral districts, and there are five candidates per seat in two districts in Riga.

Popular Fronts Expect To Win in Latvia, Estonia

LD1803174190 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The elections in Estonia and Latvia have turned out to be something of a popular festival, largely because of the beautiful spring weather. The official results will take several days to come, even though the preliminary ones are expected as soon as this evening, reports our correspondent:

[Eriksson] In brilliant beautiful spring weather, Estonians and Latvians are today voting for representatives to the Supreme Soviet in the freest elections so far in 50 years of Soviet rule. Election day has taken on a bit of the nature of a popular festival. Around the Freedom Monument here in Riga, groups of people have been standing all day, eagerly discussing the pros and cons of the various candidates. The voting is for individuals, and so far there is no actual multiparty system. Instead, the Popular Fronts have tried to gather on their lists the forces that are striving for (?freedom. These forces) are also expected to gain a majority—relatively big in Estonia, somewhat smaller in Latvia. Among these are Liberals, Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and one or two communists. In a way, then, there already exists within the Popular Front the embryo of a multiparty system, which can later develop when the republics get their independence. The voting booths close at 1900 Swedish time [1800 GMT], but several days will probably pass before the results are complete. Counting takes time, because the election officials have little experience of elections with several candidates. From their viewpoint, of course, it was easier when there was only one. The Popular Front here in Latvia, which has its own reporters in the various electoral districts, is expected to be able to give the first preliminary results tonight. Anders Eriksson; Riga, Latvia.

Popular Front Organizes Riga Preelection Rally

LD1703173790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1603 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Riga, 17 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina reports:

A many-thousand strong rally of supporters of the Popular Front of Latvia took place today in the capital of this Soviet Baltic republic. Those who spoke called upon the electorate to give their votes to the candidates supporting the Front at the elections to the local soviets tomorrow.

On average two candidates are standing for every deputy's mandate throughout the republic. Sixty-nine percent of the candidates are members of the Communist Party, 94 percent of the candidates are standing for the first time. Of the 390 candidates for deputies, only 23 are women. Sixty-five percent of the candidates are representatives of the indigenous nationality—Latvians.

More on Rally

LD1703164590 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Tomorrow there are elections in Latvia, and Mikhail Gorbachev's ultimatum to its neighbor republic Lithuania seems not to have affected the Baltic dreams of freedom. On the contrary, this afternoon, hundreds of thousands of people gathered to demonstrate before tomorrow's election. Here is our reporter Anders Eriksson in the Latvian capital, Riga:

[Eriksson] Between 300,000-500,000 people gathered under Latvian flags by the banks of the Daugave River here in Riga to once more demand freedom for Latvia. Gorbachev's ultimatum to the neighboring republic of Lithuania has not affected the Baltic people's dreams of freedom. On the contrary, the Popular Front, which organized this afternoon's demonstration, believes that it might have had the opposite effect: to strengthen the forces that are demanding independence for the Baltic nations. [passage omitted]

It is basically a warning shot, which in view of present circumstances, the Baltic peoples will not worry about, Mavriks Vulfsons, one of the central figures in the Popular Front and a member of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, said. Gorbachev is also trying to influence the Latvian and Estonian elections tomorrow, but he will not succeed. Vulfsons said that negotiations between the Baltic republics and Moscow about secession from the Union will begin very soon, perhaps as soon as next week. Tomorrow, he said, Estonians and Latvians will elect new parliaments. In these, the forces that are demanding secession from the Soviet Union will further strengthen their positions.

Latvian Party Official Alarmed Over Lithuania

LD1803094690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 17 Mar 90

[Summary] Our Correspondent I. Zorin has interviewed A.P. Klautsen, first secretary of Riga City Party Committee, on the situation there before tomorrow's republican Supreme Soviet elections. The Latvian People's Front and the republic's Communist Party are the two main opposing forces. Both claim to be pursuing the course of democratization, renewal of all spheres of life and the radical economic reform, although while the communists will try to achieve this by developing the ideas of socialism and within the USSR, their opponents are for the republic's withdrawal from the union. Preelection mass meetings are being held in the republic.

[Begin recording] [Zorin] "Arnold Petrovich, a question to you both as first secretary of Riga City Committee and as a USSR people's deputy: What are the local assessments in your region of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania?

[Klautsen] "The assessment is a very alarming one. I think the course of events here will largely depend on the way events will further unfold there. Yesterday I spoke at one of the enterprises, the (REZ) association. The decisions of the extraordinary congress on the assessment of the Lithuanian events are fully supported there."

[Zorin] "Of the USSR People's Deputies Congress?"

[Klautsen] "Yes. And such support can be found in the majority of the collectives of our city. So that tomorrow is a decisive day for us, and each voter will decide which course our republic will in fact take. This is why outward neutrality means support for the course for the withdrawal from the union. This is how I would put it frankly, both to you and to those listening to me today." [end recording]

Latvia Launches Land Reform Program

LD1703225390 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Riga March 17 TASS—The Latvian Government has decided to carry out a land reform in the republic. This decision was taken after a six month debate both in the press and at numerous conferences, meetings and rallies. Despite the different nuances of the proposed concepts, they all agree on one point—the Soviet countryside needs radical, not partial reforms.

The agrarian reform will cover all the republics's territory and will revamp the existing structure on the basis of the eqauality of all forms of property. It will do away with the existing system of management.

As distinct from other Soviet republics, Latvia adopted a law on peasant husbandries last year. It paved the way for the revival of the traditional farmstead system of economy. There were 240,000 individual farms in the republic before it joined the USSR. They not only met the population's requirements in food products, but were also able to export top quality butter and bacon.

This is why many people believe the restoration of this system will help to solve the food problem. More than 4,000 individual farm husbandries have appeared in Latvia during the past year. The number is expected to reach 50-60,000 after the reform is completed. Experts believe it will take from ten to 15 years.

A priority right to recieve land is granted to those who have houses in the countryside or to their former owners. The latter provision is explained by the fact that former farmstead owners were subjected to repressions during Stalin's time and have now been rehabilitated. Their right to get back their land has also been recognised.

"Archive data on all former farmstead has survived," said Dainis Gegers, member of the government's agrarian reform commission. "But we do not intend to forcibly break up the existing collective and state farms. In conditions of free economy many of them will voluntarily give up the lands they cannot cultivate efficiently.

"Furthermore, there are now more than a million hectares of waste land in Latvia. Of course, disputes are not ruled out, but we intend to make maximum use of the already created agricultural potential in every given case. Far from all peasants will want to become independent farmers. The reform guarantees equal conditions to all farm husbandries, irrespective of whether they are run by individuals, the state, the cooperatives or public organisations."

The land will be granted for use free of charge. However, supporters of the new system believe payments for the right to use land could be levied after peasant husbandries get a firm footing and learn to use the land and the available resources efficiently. Those who make proper use of land may buy it and become private landowners.

Latvian Cooperatives Demand Tax Changes

LD1603234690 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Riga March 16 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Galina Kuchina: Latvian cooperative enterprises picketed the building of the Latvian government and parliament today. They demanded a just system of taxation that would enable the non-state sector of economy to develop.

Two weeks ago the session of the Latvian Supreme Soviet ratified a number of union resolutions and a USSR law dealing with the cooperative movement. However, 135,000 cooperators believe that these documents will curtail their activities.

They maintain that both the republican and regional authorities are encroaching on their economic freedom. For example, double taxation was introduced on the export of goods from the republic.

The cooperative sector, which is sometimes assessed negatively in the Soviet Union because of the high price of its products, is developing more smoothly in the Baltic region. At present Latvia boasts 4,000 cooperatives that employ 135,000 people, which amounts to 10 per cent of the republic's able-bodied population. The value of goods and services produced by them is greater than in both Lithuania and Estonia.

Thanks to this sector of the economy, market relations and competition began to emerge, which is already leading to price reductions. Cooperators contributed some 100 million roubles to the local budget last year. Realising the importance of their work, they are demanding just taxes.

Today's pickets were also a demonstration of cooperators' demands to the future parliament, which will be elected on March 18.

Estonian People's Front Rally Ends

LD1603212190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Reporter Raul Malk report from People's Front rally in Tallinn]

[Excerpts] An hour ago a demonstration "For the Unity of Estonia" organized by the People's Front in Freedom Square in Tallinn came to an end. [passage omitted]

An electoral appeal from the Estonian committee was read at today's rally. The People's Front message to the people of Estonia strives once again for understanding between inhabitants of Estonia who are of different nationalities. [cheers heard from crowd]

Those three cheers were for Lithuania. And yet, today's rally was largely a response to what was seen on Wednesday in the center of Tallinn. And the warmest reception was given and the most effective impression was left by the appearance of a simple Russian woman.

[Begin recording of woman in Russian] [passage indistinct] I have been living in Estonia for 20 years and have not felt before, nor do I feel at present, that my rights are restricted. Nobody has said to me: Go away! You are Russian. [passage omitted] I am addressing you people. Peace is very dear to us: to us, to our children, for the future. And we can preserve peace only together. [passage indistinct] So we will live either all poorly or all well. But in order that we all can live well, let us all listen to our hearts and to our reason. Reason will win. Peace to you, Estonia. Peace to you, free Estonia! [previous sentence in Estonian] [end recording]

Western Republics

Belorussian Popular Front Urges Disbandment

LD1603123390 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 16 Mar 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] The Belorussian Popular Front has submitted an application to the republic's procuracy demanding that the Central Electoral Commission for elections to the parliament of Belorussia and the local soviets be disbanded. Zenon Poznyak, the Front's leader, stated in an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent that the application had been provoked by flagrant violations of the Law on Elections. For instance, the above-mentioned commission has so far not published the results of the first round of voting and the date of the run-off elections, Poznyak reported.

Newspaper Copies Confiscated in Minsk

LD1603141090 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 2 Mar 90 p 4

[Article by Gintautas Kniuksta, entitled "Who Destroyed GOLOS IZBIRATELYA Edition?"]

[Text] Two articles from the newspaper, GHOLOS IZBIRATELYA, which used to be printed in Vilnius, by Standartai Press, were published in the last issue of the weekly, ATGIMIMAS. As was explained in ATGIMIMAS, permission to publish this newspaper had been granted, however officials of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] arrived with orders to destroy an edition of the newspaper. They did not succeed in accomplishing this in Vilnius. The train, carrying the said edition, was halted in Minsk, enroute to Moscow and the newspaper was confiscated....

TIESA Editorial Office has received many letters concerning this detective story, recounted in ATGIMIMAS. Readers would like some additional information concerning this. We contacted the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is what we were told by Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Vaclovas Zabarauskas: On 23 Feb the Minister of Internal Affairs, Marijonas Misiukonis, received a telegram from Moscow informing him of the USSR Procuracy's decision to remove from Standartai Press the issue of the newspaper GOLOS IZBIRATELYA that carried statements by Gdlyan and Ivanov. According to written instructions by USSR Deputy Procurator General, V. Kravcev, we were to carry this out with the assistance of the State Security Committee. We did not undertake to carry this out, however, since a telegram does not constitute—a legal document. Our opinion concerning this matter, was relayed to Moscow. Several hours later we received via telex a legal attestation—a decision by USSR Procuracy investigator, S. Melyantsev, concerning the removal of the earlier mentioned newpaper from the printer's. We could not refuse to carry out this order. This is prohibited by law.

A group of internal security officials, from Vilnius City Tarybu Rayon, went to the printer's and removed 15 thousand copies of the newspaper GOLOS IZBIRATELYA, two assembly sheets, and three press forms and dispatched them to Moscow.

We don't know what transpired in Minsk. That is no longer our republic's territory and our internal security affairs workers certainly did not take part in the newpaper's confiscation operation. We did not go against Lithuania's interests by our actions, but as long as we are within USSR jurisdiction, we are obliged to carry out investigators' decisions in accordance with criminal case proceedings.

Donetsk Conference Abolishes Town Committee

LD1703202490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Today is Saturday, and one would think there should not be too many things happening, but nevertheless there are, and I would like to draw your attention to one of them. Specifically, to the extraordinary town party conference which started work in Donetsk today. Our correspondent Gennadiy Kondaurov reports from this mining town:

[Kondaurov] The delegates to the conference were elected on a multicandidate basis, directly in primary party organizations, and the Presidium was composed not of honorary habitues as used to be the case, but of one representative from each town rayon, the cochairmen of conference preparatory commissions, and only three secretaries of the party town committee. It was suggested that the review report of the town committee bureau should not even be read, but that they should get to the point right away. Nevertheless, the review report was heard, and the town committee and its apparatus resigned their powers.

The main issue at the conference, however, was that of new functions and structures of the town party organizations. As Georgiy Ilich Yenishuk, now the former first secretary of the town committee, said—and the hall was in solidarity with him on this, I think—the conference is deciding the destiny of the town party organization: whether it is to be united, or whether it will fall into bits, into factions, into isolated party organizations. The situation is an alarming one: The party apparatus has been subjected to the harshest criticism during the previous turbulent months in Donetsk, often justified criticism. There have been demands for it to resign.

The number of people leaving the party is growing—thousands of people since the beginning of the year alone. The party organizations at mines have become in effect autonomous, and are taking all the decisions themselves, often not heeding higher-placed organizations. The communists at the Kalinin mine, for instance, do not transfer a single ruble of their membership fees to the higher organizations. There are those who champion the platform of the CPSU Central Committee, there are those who champion the alternative Democratic platform.

In these conditions, the conference has in my view failed to fulfill a uniting, consolidating role, although there were not a few speakers calling from the conference rostrum for the preparations for the 28th Congress to be regarded as the main issue and for a firm position on the part of Donetsk communists at the congress to be worked out.

There was a great deal of dispute about how to deal with the party town committee. Everyone agreed that it is wholly unacceptable in its present guise, as an organ of the command administration, with an executive organ, secretaries, and a small apparatus. Many said that today we should think about how the party organization will operate in the conditions of a multiparty system, how it will defend its position and its ideals then, how it will persuade its adherents.

The difficult situation in the economy and in the social sphere in the town was barely touched on at all at the conference. And it seems to me that today, the town party organization essentially has no real convincing position on these problems which are so important for people s lives. The communists proposed accepting the resignation of the town committee and its bureau, prolonging the powers of delegates, drawing up a position together with primary party organizations, and completing the conference on the eve of the 28th congress of the party. The decision has not yet been taken.

[Announcer] We received that report an hour ago, and 15 minutes ago we received the following report, also from Donetsk, from our correspondent:

The town party conference has adopted a decision to abolish the town party committee, to complete the work of the conference after the 28th CPSU congress, to prolong until that period the powers of the conference delegates and of the Buro of the party town committee in the capacity of a working body, and to draw up in conjunction with primary party organizations the position of the Donetsk communists for the 28th CPSU Congress.

Statement on Ukranian Religious Talks Issued

LD1503132890 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] The quadripartite commission which has been working in the Ukraine to reach a settlement in relations between Orthodox Christians and Greco Catholics of the Eastern rite has issued a joint statement, reports INTERFAX.

The negotiations between representatives of the Vatican, the Moscow Patriarchy, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and the Greco Catholic clergy passed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. The commission denounced the violent takeovers of Orthodox churches. It believes that the authorities must register Greco Catholic communities only after mutual agreement is reached between the churches.

It recommends not to use one and the same church building for two different religious confessions. The commission members see as unacceptable any interference by political secular organizations in church affairs.

Meanwhile, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has sent a protest to Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] accusing some representatives of that public oraganization of having rushed to settle religious issues as if they were doctors of theology. These people are accused of instigating believers to carry out illegal takeovers of churches, thus leading to religious clashes.

Petroleum Vapor Causing Fires Near Odessa

LD1803135990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0908 GMT on 18 March broadcasts a seven-minute report by its Odessa correspondent disclosing that over the last 10 days there has been talk locally that someone in Odessa has been trying to blow up the oil refinery and "many people have even been hearing explosions of a type that they cannot remember since the time of the war."

"There have, indeed, been explosions," the correspondent goes on to say. He notes that there are very many catacombs beneath Odessa. They extend also underneath the oil refinery which was built some 50 years ago. Ten days ago three boys climbed into one of the catacomb galleries, he says, and in the darkness they struck a match. There was a sudden explosion, which threw them out of the gallery. Fortunately the boys survived the blast.

Afterward, however, for several days there was the sound of "fairly powerful explosions" from the gallery that ran in the direction of the oil refinery, the correspondent says. He says that this is an extraordinary situation, and firemen and mining rescue workers are still at work in dealing with it.

The report then gives an interview with Aleksandr Sergeyevich Sidorov, chief of the Fire Service Directorate in Odessa Oblast, who explains that the boys' match ignited evaporated petroleum products that had seeped into the gallery. He says that there had been explosions before about six months ago and the oil refinery had attempted to take steps to halt the leakage into the catacomb galleries but had failed. The complexity of the situation lies in the fact that after the fire has been extinguished the gallery's wooden supports continue smouldering and reigniting the petroleum fumes. The firemen have limited experience of fighting fires underground and called in mine specialists from Donetsk, he notes. However, even after their efforts the explosions have been recurring. Burning has been discovered and observed not only in the one gallery but also some 20-30 meters off to the side from it. Despite the difficulties, Sidorov says that the situation is fully under control.

Caucasus

Georgia Experiences National Liberation Movement

Groups Demonstrate for Independence

LD1503005190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2205 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Video report by television correspondent N. Gongadze from Tbilisi, Georgia on 14 March meeting by groups protesting for Georgian independence]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [video shows crowds gathered in open air, national flags can be seen flying from a building. Video then switches to the inside of the building showing people on the stage and in the auditorium. Gongadze's voice is heard over speakers on the stage addressing the crowd in Georgian and a Georgian banner hangs in the hall]

[Gongadze] The stormy processes of renewal have promoted the activization of the radical wing of the National Movement of Georgia. It should be noticed that recently it has been enjoying quite a bit of support from the population of the republic. That is explained by the desire of society for serious changes, the desire to acquire true democracy, more civilization, and independence. Representatives of 95 political parties, social organizations, creative unions of Georgia, members of the society of Ilya the Righteous, the Party of National Independence, the Union of George the Victorious, and others called upon those assembled to consolidate national forces in order to achieve the main aim of the contemporary state—the restoration of the state independence of Georgia. It was decided to set up a special national quorom which will prepare a national congress and hold elections to an opposition government. The conference will continue its work tomorrow.

Groups Confer in Tbilisi

LD1603121490 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] At a conference of Georgia's national liberation movements in Tbilisi a decision was adopted on abolishing the republic's Supreme Soviet and the election of a transitional coalition government. Taking part in the conference are representatives of 95 different political parties and public organizations.

An INTERFAX correspondent reports that the position of the Popular Front and of the All-Georgian Rustaveli Society, which call for a parliamentary settlement of the question of Georgia's political independence, was sharply criticized at the conference, especially by the Committee for National Salvation.

'National Forum' Elected

LD1603150590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 90

[By TASS correspondent Paata Tsintsadze]

[Text] Tbilisi, 16 March (TASS)—The participants in the conference for representatives of the opposition sociopolitical movements, creative unions, and scientific intelligentsia of Georgia (a Soviet republic in the Transcaucasus) have, after three days of stormy debates, elected a national forum which will be charged with preparing a congress for all of the republic's opposition political forces.

Radical organizations which are boycotting the elections for deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, which are to be held at the end of March, came out as initiators for the holding of the conference. In their opinion the powers of the parliament which is currently functioning here "do not have a legal basis."

The idea of nonparticipation in the elections was not supported by Nodar Natadze, chairman of the Georgian Popular Front, who considers that a republican Supreme Soviet elected on a contested basis has an opportunity to fully restore Georgia's statehood.

Despite the proposals of other opposition movements of Georgia, the conference decided by a majority of votes to hold elections to an opposition council which "will monitor the actions of the republic's government until it achieves full independence."

Gorbachev Denies Hand-over of Power in NKAO

LD1603122590 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent reports that reports have been rife in Azerbaijan recently that after the election of the USSR president power will change hands in Nagorno-Karabakh: the organizational committee which represents republican power in the oblast will be disbanded and a presidential form of rule will be introduced in Nagorno-Karabakh.

In connection with this, during an interval between sessions [of the Congress of People's Deputies] a group of Azerbaijani deputies asked Mikhail Gorbachev for an explanation of these rumors. Mikhail Gorbachev stated that, in accordance with the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, all power in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] belongs to the organizational committee which alone will concern itself with normalization of the situation in this oblast.